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123
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CHILE

Pinochet on Domestic Political Situation, Elections (Augusto Pinochet Interview; LA NACION, 28 May 87)	22
Politicians, Church Comment on National Reconciliation (Various sources; various dates)	31
Bishops Issue Statement After Conference	31
Politicians View Bishops' Declaration	34
Further Comments on Declaration	38
Meaning of Reconciliation Reviewed, Editorial	41

COLOMBIA

Goals in Economic Development, Education Sectors Discussed (CROMOS, 26 May 87)	44
Economic Development, Fuad Char Interview	44
Educational Reforms, Antonio Yepes Interview	46
Changes in Unemployment Fund System Contemplated (SEMANA, 19 May 87)	49
Foreign Debt Service Exerts Pressure on Treasury (Jose Fernando Lopez; EL TIEMPO, 8 May 87)	52
Nearly Half of Population Reported in Abject Poverty (Ricardo Luna Cano; EL ESPECTADOR, 9 May 87)	54
Imbalance in Distribution of Wealth Deplored (Gloria Vallejo; EL TIEMPO, 16 May 87)	56
Poverty Problem Analyzed in Area Breakdown (Jose Fernando Lopez; EL TIEMPO, 17 May 87)	58
Military Intelligence Brigades Reactivated (EL TIEMPO, 2 Jun 87)	63
FARC Leader Threatens End To Truce (EL TIEMPO, 30 May 87)	65
Antisubversion Rallies Reported in Llanos Region (EL TIEMPO, 2 Jun 87)	67

CUBA

CDR's Pineda Vasalio on Reasons for Popular Apathy (Vicente Pineda Vasalio Interview; BOHEMIA, 10 Apr 87) .	70
Response to Readers' Reports of Hotel Robberies (BOHEMIA, 17 Apr 87)	73

15 JULY 1987

LATIN AMERICA

CONTENTS

BRAZIL

Reactions to Sarney Speech on Mandate Discussed (ISTOE, 27 May 87)	1
Governor's Use of Congressional Blocs To Obtain Funds Viewed (O GLOBO, 1 Jun 87)	4
Military on Creation of Defense Ministry, Role (Paulo Campos Paiva, Sidney Obino Azambuja Interview; O GLOBO, 24 May 87)	7
PCB Divided Over Naming of New Secretary General (O GLOBO, 24 May 87)	12
Poll Shows Public Support for Military Internal Defense Role (O GLOBO, 24 May 87)	14
Five Deputies Comprising Covas' Inner Circle Identified (O GLOBO, 10 May 87)	16
Employment Availability on Decline, Strikes on Rise (Lisa Franca; O GLOBO, 17 May 87)	18
1987 Sugar Exports To Be Limited, Contracts Renegotiated (O GLOBO, 17 May 87)	19
Briefs	
Oil Derivatives Consumption Data	21
International Reserves Data	21

Radio Reloj Listeners Surveyed (BOHEMIA, 17 Apr 87)	74
HONDURAS	
Agrarian Reform Problem Acquires New Dimension (Various sources, 16 May 87)	75
Peasants' Position Criticized	75
Rapid Reform Needed, Editorial	75
Peasants Launch Nationwide Land-Claim Campaign (Various sources, various dates)	78
Ten Peasant Organizations Mobilize	78
INA Central, Regional Offices Occupied, by Jose Danilo Izaguirre	79
Urban Areas Occupied	80
Urban Lands Seized, by Juan Bosco Campos	80
Further Land Seizures	81
Land, INA Seizures Resolved, by Jose Danilo Izaguirre	81
Agrarian Problem Resolved by Army, Editorial	83
Inspection of Seized Lands	84
Briefs	
Second National Unity Pact Proposed	86
MEXICO	
COPARMEX Analyzes Possible Presidential Candidates (J. Jesus Rangel M.; EXCELSIOR, 15 May 87)	87
NICARAGUA	
Aeronica Obtains Soviet Aircraft (BARRICADA, 22 May 87)	106
Carrion: Social Control Form of 'Class Struggle' (Luis Carrion; BARRICADA, 26 May 87)	108
PERU	
Blancas on Executive Interference in Judicial Branch (Carlos Bustamante Blancas Interview; CARETAS, 20 Apr 87)	114

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REACTIONS TO SARNEY SPEECH ON MANDATE DISCUSSED

Sao Paulo ISTOE in Portuguese 27 May 87 pp 20-21

[Text] Last Tuesday evening, only 24 hours after the statement which jolted the government and the nation, President Sarney's old friend Edison Lobo, senator from Parana, went to Alvorada Palace and came away impressed. "The president is very calm now," said Lobo, who just days earlier had found Sarney tense and agitated. The same surprise was expressed again Thursday by Bahia Deputy Leur Lomanto, who had gone to Planalto Palace to speak with the president about nominations. "He is a different person," the congressman declared, confirming the change in the president's demeanor.

In fact, after having stood up to the political parties and those who had been circling around him, threatening his mandate, Sarney finally appears to have rid himself of the indecision which had prevented him from dealing with the nation's problems. The president's determination and sprightliness, however, are far from representing, in themselves, a solution to a series of problems deriving from a lack of any consensus or hegemony among the forces in the society. This weakness was reflected last week in the incidents which preceded Sarney's "table thumping" and the feeble reaction of the politicians to the president's speech.

True, before he made his bold move, Sarney had consulted his close circle of advisors, had gone crawling to the few political allies on whom he has relied, such as Jose Lourenco, PLF [Liberal Front Party] leader in the Chamber, and, above all, had sought support and inspiration in the command of the Armed Forces, whose army minister, General Leonidas Pires de Goncalves, is the principal motivator of and believer in the president's new posture. What the officers of the High Command see as a solution, however, struck lower ranking officers last Tuesday as a disquieting apple of discord. On that day, 15 generals in the Eastern Military Command (Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo) asked for an audience with General Waldir Martins, area commander, to inform him of the dissatisfaction of the so-called uniformed middle class with the president's speech and asked that their impressions be conveyed to the army minister, who was visiting Rio that day. According to the generals, the prevailing sentiment among the officers was that Sarney should remain in power for only 1 more year, opening the way for a solution to the political crisis by the direct election of his successor.

As an institution based on the principle of hierarchy, it is not the place of the Armed Forces to voice opinions on statements by the president of the republic, to whom, constitutionally, they owe obedience. Nor is it their place to pressure the president or urge him to make certain political decisions or even to offer him the support owed to him by the letter of the law, in exchange for his consideration of suggestions from the barracks. Meanwhile, the disagreements which permeate the barracks are currently a measure of the differences which are flourishing in the civilian society, without arriving at any common denominator either by force of consensus or political hegemony.

In recent days, the leaders in the Constituent Assembly have observed many signs that the political process is threatening to come apart. The most obvious signs appeared with a pilgrimage of military officers and politicians to the apartment on Rua Barao de Torre, in Rio de Janeiro, home of former president Ernesto Geisel, and to an estate in Luziania, where General Golbery do Couto e Silva resides. It is now known that the visitors were seeking an alternative to the crisis through a break with democracy. In the Congress, it was being said that some officers were talking about the possibility of putting General Geisel back in power, if some type of military intervention became necessary. It is unlikely, however, that the former president would respond to this appeal differently from the way he responded in 1984 to an emissary of Paulo Maluf, then the PDS [Social Democratic Party] presidential candidate, who presented a similar proposal. Feeling he could not win the election, Maluf wanted Geisel to accept a 2-year stopgap mandate, which would be followed by direct elections. Geisel said no.

In fact, there is nothing in the way of finding a solution to the most commonplace problems in the country today, and it is here that the political class sees the ruling elite as the spectre of weakness. "I called on the parties so that, together, we could examine the problem and I have been waiting 5 months for an answer," complained Sarney in the statement in which, unilaterally, he defined a 5-year term for his presidency. If the parties have not managed to reach an understanding on such a circumstantial, temporary issue as Sarney's mandate, imagine how difficult it will be for the political parties to arrive at some consensus on the basic issues in the nation's life.

In the Brazil of the 1980's, there is no better example of disintegration than the PMDB, the government party and the largest party in the country. Last week the PMDB was threatened with collapse, at the end of the meeting of the party bench, which only served to demonstrate the extent to which it is divided. Called by leader Mario Covas to decide on the position of the bench with regard to the president's mandate, the meeting was one of the principal factors that led Sarney to move his speech up to the same week that marked the return of presidential candidate Leonel Brizola to the TV networks. The meeting was held despite an appeal for its cancellation by Jose Rocha--who was responding to another appeal by his friend, General Leonidas Pires Goncalves. Commanding the so-called "democratic center," Carlos Sant'Anna, government leader in the Chamber, ordered the withdrawal of about 80 of the 216 congressmen present, which left the meeting without a quorum for its deliberations. On the other side, a vote that finally came out 128 to 88 showed that at least 60 percent of the PMDB assemblymen did not respect the president's unilateral definition of his mandate.

As in the issue of the presidential mandate, the PMDB is not in agreement on a range of immediate issues that now tend to push the party into internal confrontation and which threaten to alarm the public. For example, there is no agreement on agrarian reform, an issue on which both conservatives and progressives are currently divided. Different languages are being spoken about control of the banks, about the reserve market in the computer area and others, such as biotechnology, and, above all, about tax reform, the arena for a battle fomented by regional interests. The PMDB congressmen from the North and Northeast, for example, demand a reform which would transfer from the southern states to their regions the largest slice of revenues which are returned to the richer states, in proportion to the tax contribution of each state. Obviously, the southern PMDB congressmen reject this proposal. The storm with regard to the North-South railway clearly demonstrates the regional competition for public funds. In this broad scenario of conflicts which are tearing the society apart, the foreign debt is one of the few major topics which escape the leadership vacuum. In the clash between Brazilians and foreigners, there is always a reasonable domestic consensus in favor of nationalist postures.

It was in this context of a crisis of understanding that Sarney decided to bang his fist on the table last week. Before then, the president had spent a month asking his colleagues a question which cloaked a somber warning. "Who do you think is going to sit in this chair if my government falls?" he asked, in obvious distress. He himself was quick to answer. "We civilians will not be the ones to win a civil war, if it comes to it, with its disorder and upheaval. It will be the ones who have the arms."

6362

CSO: 3342/140

GOVERNORS' USE OF CONGRESSIONAL BLOCS TO OBTAIN FUNDS VIEWED

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 1 Jun 87 p 2

[Text] Brasilia--The reestablishment of the "policy of governors" by President Sarney, based on the need to insure the majority support of the Democratic Alliance for a 5-year term and other government interests, placed the Constituent Congress in a sort of "double boiler," a providential hiatus for the evaluation of the true influence of the governors on their congressional blocs.

In formal statements, most of them agreed with the president and are now seeking to transfer that idea to the members of the federal congressional blocs. The governors want specific help for fighting the state of bankruptcy in which they received the state administrations. The government is conditioning that help on the support it needs for reestablishing economic order and for insuring the 5-year term for Sarney.

In that relationship of forces, it is possible to state that the governors "who were in front supporting Sarney," Alvaro Dias (PR), Newton Cardoso (MG), Orestes Quercia (SP) and Moreira France (RJ), have the support of their blocs. The rest are still working, if not for unanimity, in the direction of a majority of their blocs which, however, show themselves sensitive to their appeals.

Everyone agrees, from the government to the legislators, that the policy showed itself to be efficient in an early phase because the governors, in electoral language, "pushed" the election of the present blocs in a campaign in which the characteristics and proposals of the majority candidates were discussed more than the ideas for the new constitution. The trilogy of power is explained crudely in a very simple way: The blocs need the governors, they need the federal government and the federal government in turn needs the support of the congressional blocs. That explains the option by Sarney in seeking the support of the blocs through the governors.

The most resistant to the pressures by the Federal Government up to now are Miguel Arraes of Pernambuco, Fernando Collor of Alagoas and Carlos Bezerra of Mato Grosso do Sul. There are governors who agree with Planalto Palace but adopt an ambiguous behavior: With the greatest simplicity they trust in legislators of the federal bloc who above all need to organize financially. An example is Governor Alvaro Dias of Parana, who questioned by a deputy of his state last week, said:

"I have to balance my accounts. Then we shall see how things are."

The position of Alvaro Dias causes many legislators opposed to that policy to warn the governors of their states of the danger Sarney is running as of the beginning of the fiscal year of the second year of his term, when any commitment, once the "accounts" are in order, can be broken.

Alvaro Dias, for example, had in his possession in April the results of a plebescite in which 87 percent of the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] membership of Parana advocated a 4-year term for Sarney. At that time Alvaro made it a point to reveal his vote, which accompanied that of the majority: 4 years. Last week, after the statement by Sarney on television, he went to Brasilia for an audience at Planalto and advocated a 5-year term.

For the same reasons, perhaps even more cornered, Rio Grande do Sul Governor Pedro Simon was in Brasilia advocating the 5-year term, a theory which up until very recently he condemned. Simon was rocked by the resignation of Finance Minister Dilson Funaro, with whom he had already arranged a solution for the financial drama of the state. He is a typical case of a besieged governor to which a palace source referred. Simon, after traveling with Sarney to Uruguay, convinced PMDB President Ulysses Guimaraes to appeal to the congressional bloc for a consensus on a 5-year term. He complained: "We have to find a solution for the economy, if we do not, nothing is going to work."

In Minas, as customary, the story is different. The term "physiologism" was replaced by "participation in the government" to justify the unconditional support of Governor Newton Cardoso and his bloc for Planalto positions. The coordinator of the federal bloc, Deputy Marcos Lima, maintains that the Planalto Palace strategy led the governors to strengthen their blocs. In his specific case, a different statement would be false: Lima received "cart blanche" from Cardoso for distributing the posts that the Federal Government, through its leader in the Chamber, Carlos Sant'Anna (BA), gave him.

In Ceara, the example of Minas won out: There is no "physiologism" but rather "the understanding that the time does not call for unreality," according to the bloc coordinator, Deputy Expedito Machado. An old personal friend of Sarney, he headed the movement that brought the moderates back to the scene, and he does not hide his euphoria at that. Expedito managed to have Governor Tasso Jereissati rally the Ceara bloc around Sarney last week, despite the fact that he had been invited and "disinvited" to the Ministry of Finance recently.

Bloc Fights To Have Collor Received

Next week Alagoas Governor Fernando Collor could become the example Sarney needs for convincing the still rebellious governors to support his strategy. Collor is coming to Brasilia for an audience, which was postponed several times by Sarney in reprisal for the governor's statements against the government. The Federal bloc of the PMDB of Alagoas, which has deputies and a senator, worked to reconcile the president and the governor.

"Collor needs federal support and has already accepted describing his criticism as a misunderstanding. He cannot retreat all at once, he suggested weakness more than once, however; he has already been advised that Sarney is willing to receive him. He cannot go there to change his example," revealed a legislator from Alagoas.

Governor Miguel Arraes will continue to resist because Sarney prefers to seek reconciliation, since he has the disadvantage of having fired the first shot, says a deputy from Pernambuco, referring to the appointment of Joaquim Cavalcante (PFL-PE [Liberal Front Party-Pernambuco]) to MINTER. Meanwhile Arraes rules the bloc which advocates priority discussions of the economy, with the presidential term as a secondary item. However, the bloc advocates a 4-year term.

The governor of Bahia, Waldir Pires, is following the line of Ulysses for conciliation, since he does not discard the possibility of there being two candidates to succeed Sarney. The Bahia bloc agreed with the Minister-Chief of the Civilian Household, Ronaldo Costa Couta, that appointments for the state would be made jointly.

The most independent position, at least in appearance, is that of Mato Grosso do Sul, where Governor Carlos Bezerra does not even wish to discuss a 5-year term. However, he is waiting for a positive response to the financial demands he has already made to the Federal Government and he could give way.

Rio de Janeiro Governor Moreira Franco is acting with discretion, but in an efficient way: An advocate from the beginning for a suitable term for President Sarney, he united the majority of his bloc in defense of a 5-year term and recently managed to have Coordinator Aloisio Teixeira produce a document in this respect, which was sent to Ulysses Guimaraes.

8908

CS0: 3342/130

MILITARY ON CREATION OF DEFENSE MINISTRY, ROLE

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 May 87 p 8

[Interview with Minister-Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Paulo Campos Paiva and Air Brigadier Sidney Obino Azambuja by Pedro Paulo Rezende; time and place not given]

[Text] Brasilia--The Subcommittee for the Defense of the State, Society and Security is discussing the draft bill by Deputy Ricardo Fiuza of the PFL [Liberal Front Party] from Pernambuco. The drafter practically endorses the points of view contained in a document prepared long ago by the Armed Forces Staff [EMFA] in the study of the constitutions of 12 countries.

Coordination of the work was given to Air Brigadier Sidney Obino Azambuja, who received the support of the Ministries of the Navy, Army and Aeronautics. In this interview, the minister chief of the EMFA, Paulo Campos Paiva, and Brigadier Azambuja detail the positions of the military ministries, which are against the creation of a Ministry of Defense and favor keeping the present status of the armed forces in domestic defense and of the system of compulsory military service.

[Question] What is the armed forces position on the creation of a Ministry of Defense by the National Constituent Assembly?

Paulo Campos Paiva: They are against it. We believe that the individual forces (Army, Navy and Aeronautics) take care of the needs of the country perfectly, fulfilling their mission. The creation of a Ministry of Defense would result in a large increase in spending to support an inordinately large body. On the other hand, it would create another echelon between the president of the republic, who is the supreme commander of the armed forces, and the individual forces. Finally, there would appear a superministry with disproportionate power. There would be no economic, political or operational advantage to the creation of a Ministry of Defense.

[Question] Could the EMFA, with minor modifications, be adapted to the role of Ministry of Defense?

Campos Paiva: It could be adapted, but what exists is the impropriety of trying to make an adaptation for something we do not believe should be done.

Sidney Obino Azambuja: What had to be done, we have already done: A work of coordination and integration among the individual forces.

Campos Paiva: We have an example right here. We are coordinating a work that is of interest to the three armed forces and that is this clarification, this counsel to the subcommittees of the Constituent Assembly. This is an example showing that it is not necessary to create a specific ministry for coordinating questions such as those.

[Question] In the study made, was there any mention of some advantage of a Ministry of Defense?

Azambuja: The historical study we made does not recommend the creation of a Ministry of Defense. All the experiences of countries that have a Ministry of Defense show examples of uncoordination and disintegration, plus a lack of cohesion among the individual forces, which has even resulted in a dispersion and even duplication of efforts in similar areas, something that does not happen in Brazil. A specific example is the United States. It has a naval air force, an army air force, a marine air force, a national guard air force and an air force air force, incredible as it may seem. There are other examples such as the U.S. space program. The navy had a program, the army another, and the air force also; even the marines were developing a small space program. It was necessary to create NASA, a civilian body, to merge their efforts. The Defense Department failed in these efforts.

[Question] Did the study cover only the capitalist countries or were the socialist countries also analyzed?

Azambuja: We also studied the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, which would serve as a model in an analysis of this nature. Even there we found examples of a dispersion of efforts. Soviet pressure with respect to aerospace defense was so great that they created a specific and independent air force. There are 7,000 aircraft, which means a force 20 times larger than our entire air force for only this type of mission. These aircraft could be used according to needs, in aerospace defense or in air tactical missions, if they had adopted a philosophy of multiple use and of cooperation among the armed forces. Only in that way can a war be won.

[Question] If despite all arguments against the creation of the ministry by the EMFA the Constituent Assembly were to opt for a parliamentary model with a Ministry of Defense, would the armed forces prefer to remain subordinated to the president of the republic or to the prime minister? What is the reason for the choice?

Campos Paiva: The president of the republic is the supreme commander of the individual forces. He needs to be in direct contact with his subordinates. With the parliamentary system, in the hypothesis of being linked to the prime minister, we would have one more link in the chain of command, which would hamper the speed of communications.

[Question] Did the instabilities of the cabinets in the parliamentary system affect that EMFA position?

Azambuja: The armed forces need long range programs. At this time we are developing an army for the 90's and an air force and navy for the year 2000. These are plans that cannot be affected by the fall of a cabinet. Obviously, if the Constituent Assembly were to choose a model in which we are subordinated to the prime minister, we would accept that imposition.

[Question] Modern war experiences, including the Malvinas, where 3,500 British defeated 10,000 Argentines, demonstrated the superiority of the professional soldier over the conscript. Why did the armed forces choose the present model of mandatory military service?

Campos Paiva: It was not a matter of 10,000 conscripts against 3,500 professionals, but rather an overwhelming advantage in equipment and technology. The 3,500 had better equipment and had night vision equipment. The 10,000, in addition to having inferior equipment and support, fought in the dark, they could not see. Night vision equipment was an advantage. Have you pictured a blind man fighting against someone who can see? Obviously this is very specific and is not applicable to Brazil. Let us look at a more general situation. In naval warfare, when a ship sinks you have to build another to replace it. The telegrapher, the machinists who serve on board, would not go to man the ship that was lost but will be used in another. Obviously there is no need for a reserve as large as for infantry troops, where total losses in a unit can be made up by an enormous number of conscripts. The professional soldier for the army is a disadvantage. In a ship it is important that the man be a man highly trained for an operation. In one situation you need large numbers, in another you need fewer numbers.

[Question] Was the aspect of costs for the creation of a professional army taken into account?

[Azambuja] The cost of a professional army is seven to 12 times greater than that of an army of conscripts, perhaps even more if we consider the secondary effect of pay. When a conscript serves under Mandatory Military Service, he receives only 700 cruzados. He has housing, food, laundry and almost no expenses for his own support. This rule does not apply with the professional soldier. A Military Policeman receives 7,000 cruzados. In order to keep a professional soldier we would have to pay a similar amount. Perhaps even more. Then would come a cascade effect: The corporal would have to be paid more, as would the sergeant and the lieutenant. Even the general would have to earn more.

Campos Paiva: Moreover, it does not create a mobilizable reserve.

Azambuja: A professional stays for 5 to 6 years instead of the thousands of young men who present themselves annually to perform their military service. Instead of that we would have 500,000 soldiers trained every year.

[Question] Is a year enough to make a good soldier?

Campos Paiva: Our men in the Expeditionary Force to Italy were very good soldiers and had only 1 year of training. The men I commanded in Santo Domingo with 1 year of training were also very good soldiers. The problem is one of resources for training: personnel, material, training camps, and so forth. If we had those resources, a good soldier could be trained in 1 year; well prepared physically and mentally. The highly skilled soldier, who has to work with very sophisticated equipment, needs professional training, which is not the case with the majority of troops.

[Question] What is the constitutional purpose of the armed forces? Does the plan sent by the EMFA stipulate maintaining the role of domestic defense of the nation?

Campos Paiva: Perfect... Can you imagine a situation in which the police do not have the conditions for resolving domestic problems? How do you resolve them? There has to be the maintenance of order by the armed forces. Therefore, it is better that it be made legal than to have something improvised. The decision of the time is that it must be left up to the opinion of the president of the republic. It cannot be left up to the opinion of each military chief whether he does or does not carry out that action. That is the way it has been done. When an action is carried out in any place whatever, it is not done without the knowledge of the president or the minister.

[Question] Would the mechanisms of domestic defense be regulated?

Campos Paiva: Under the stipulations of the constitution, ordinary law would regulate. However, it is obvious that the armed forces must act in domestic defense after the other mechanisms have failed.

[Questions] In the constitutions studied, was there a case of some country that does not authorize that role for the armed forces?

Azambuja: We studied 12 constitutions. The great majority authorized a role of external defense to the armed forces, which is really their main purpose, but opened the possibility of sharing in the defense of domestic order in ordinary legislation or in the constitution itself. The state needs a means of self-defense, otherwise it is doomed to disappear. No nation can accept the risk of the disappearance of the state. The instrument that the state has for defending itself and the nation is the armed forces. That is the idea we preach. For example, the constitutional purpose of the armed forces could be the defense of the nation under the supreme command of the president of the republic.

If we were to arrange ourselves like that, en route to a short constitution, it would mean defense against external and domestic threats. It would be regulated by complementary ordinary legislation. The present philosophy of defense of domestic order by the armed forces implies the use of all police resources available. Such is the recent case of the refineries and could be a hypothesis in the case of a state deciding to become independent. On the other hand, international relations are at a lower level than personal relations. A person commits a crime and pays for it in prison. There are

nations that are active in other countries to spread ideas they believe correct. That is the typical case of a domestic threat with the possibility of intervention by the armed forces. After all, there is no international agency that punishes a country when it interferes in the internal affairs of another.

[Question] Which of the constitutions studied is closest to the desires of the Brazilian military?

Azambuja: That is very difficult to answer. Each constitution, as it must be, is suited to the spirit and nature of a country. We cannot apply Portuguese standards in a country of the huge size of ours. Forms cannot be copied. The Brazilian solution must be present in the entire constitutional text. The Ministry of Defense, digressing a little from the subject at hand, is the type of copying that all the countries of the world made from the United States with poor results in almost all of them, including the United States. In order to resolve the problems of coordination created by the Department of Defense, the United States changed the law for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, their EMFA, expanding its authority.

[Question] In closing, Minister, which of the prominent points discussed by the Constituent Assembly concerns you the most?

Campos Paiva: The possibility of losing the mission of domestic defense. If that were to happen, the country would be left without the capacity, under certain circumstances, of establishing order, maintaining its wealth and defending national goals.

8908

CSO: 3342/129

PCB DIVIDED OVER NAMING OF NEW SECRETARY GENERAL

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 May 87 p 6

[Text] With a little more than a month to go before its 8th National Congress in which it seeks to establish its guidelines for action in the country and abroad, in addition to electing its new General Directorate, The Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) has already held most of its regional conventions, but is still undecided on the name of its future secretary general, the highest party post, to replace the present secretary general, Giocondo Dias.

Two names have been outstanding and have been discussed: Federal Deputy Roberto Freire (PE) and former "G.I." Salomao Malina. However, the party is in motion, agitated with its great plans.

In Ceara, for example, the PCB has already held its convention and elected its new regional chairman, Francisco Pereira da Silva, 52.

"We still do not have a preference between Malina and Roberto Freire," explained Pereira da Silva. "Our goal is to grow, to spread throughout the country."

Ceara's goal is that of increasing its membership from the present 400 to at least 1,000. Moreover, the party wants provisional committees in no fewer than 36 of the 152 cities of Ceara. It is true that the Ceara PCB did not elect a councilman, deputy or senator, but is proud of having supported Tasso Jereissati.

However, such is not the case of the Rio Grande do Norte PCB: There it has a representative with an elective post in the country: It is Councilman Sergio Dieb in the Natal City Council. It also has provisional committees in 11 of the 151 municipalities of the state. Regional Chairman Hermano Paiva has great plans:

"We have not yet made a choice for Malino or Roberto Freire. That is least important. The most important thing is the tactic to be followed."

The party in Maranhao had less luck. In the last elections it competed with a candidate for deputy, Tomaz Jose Santos, who received 340 votes. However, it is not discouraged. In the next elections it is going to compete in the

municipal elections if it can achieve a coalition. According to Regional Chairman Hupert Lima de Macedo, there is no firm position as to the election for secretary general yet.

Since the 10th of this month, the Alagoas PCB has had its new regional leadership and its three delegates chosen for the 8th National Congress.

"Names such as those of Comrades Roberto Freire and Salomao Malina appear as strong possibilities but we are not interested in personalizing the party," explained the only state member with an elective position, Councilman and journalist Joao Vicente Freitas Neto, adding "The order of the day is a flexible and renewed PCB."

In Paraiba, the PCB is going to choose the leaders of its Regional Directorate on the 23rd, in a convention to be held in Campinha Grande. The state committee, 15 persons, was elected on the 26th of last month, at the same time as the only delegate from the state to the 8th Congress, Hermano Nepomuceno. The Paraiba PCB has 11 provisional municipal committees and a total of 180 members.

Last 1 May, the Pernambuco PCB, with the plenary session of the Legislative Assembly filled by almost a third, held its convention. It selected the chairman of the State Committee, Paulo Cavalcanti, but did not select the rest of the Executive Committee because that depends on negotiations. Despite the fact that Roberto Freire is from Pernambuco and obtained more than 7,000 votes in the last election, the Pernambuco PCB bloc at the convention leaned in large majority toward Malina for secretary general.

8908

CSO: 3342/130

POLL SHOWS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR MILITARY INTERNAL DEFENSE ROLE

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 May 87 p 9

[Text] The armed forces should have the authority to intervene in containing internal disorders, but always obeying the president of the republic. This is the opinion of 75 percent of the population of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, who approve the existing constitutional definition, which was revealed in the sixth part of the survey "The Constitution the People Want" by the Gallup Institute, that O GLOBO has been publishing for a month and a half. Those interviewed (62 percent) also advocate the continuation of the Compulsory Military Service system and its extension to women.

The definition of the constitutional role of the military emerges as the result of the question: "In your opinion, should the armed forces only care for the defense of Brazil against external attacks or should they also have the authority to intervene to contain disorders within the country?" The favorable reply for internal defense is more common in Rio de Janeiro (78 percent), among Class D/E (77 percent), among persons with elementary education (78 percent), and higher education (78 percent), middle age (76 percent) and the elderly (77 percent).

However, the percentage of opponents of military participation in the internal problems of the nation is significant, if their presence in Class A (32 percent) and persons with a higher education (38 percent) is considered.

Subordination to the president of the republic is emphasized by men (80 percent), Class A (83 percent), higher level of education (82 percent), among the elderly (78 percent), and in Rio de Janeiro (76 percent). It comes in answer to the question: "Do you believe that the armed forces should always obey the elected president or could they act on their own account in case of disorders within the country?" The opposite position of subordination of the president to the armed forces is more desired by women (26 percent) and the young (27 percent).

The subject of the compulsory nature of military service was posed by the question: "Would you like for military service to be mandatory in Brazil or that it only be performed by those who wanted to do so, or that it did not exist?" It was more supported by men interviewed (64 percent), elementary education (71 percent), the elderly (76 percent). Volunteer service was more preferred by women (37 percent), from the upper class (51 percent), people with higher educations (57 percent), the young (46 percent) and residents of Sao Paulo (36 percent).

The percentage of those who believe military service should not exist was very small (2 percent). This opinion increases in Rio de Janeiro (4 percent), among individuals of a higher level (3 percent), Classes A (3 percent), Class B (3 percent) and the elderly (3 percent).

The inclusion of women in military service has more support among women (64 percent) than among men (60 percent). This acceptance is greater among the higher stratum of society (73 percent), among the better educated (66 percent), among the young (64 percent), and in Rio de Janeiro (67 percent). Its most determined opponents are men (40 percent), individuals in Class C (40 percent), elementary school level (40 percent), elderly (41 percent) and residents of Sao Paulo (41 percent).

The Gallup Public Opinion Institute interviewed 1,349 persons, 608 in Greater Rio and 741 in Greater Sao Paulo; 671 men and women; 111 from Class A, 251 from B, 458 from C and 529 from D/E; 519 between the ages of 18 and 29 years, 528 between 30 and 49 and 302 over 50.

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CSO: 3342/129

FIVE DEPUTIES COMPRISING COVAS' INNER CIRCLE IDENTIFIED

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 10 May 87 p 8

[Text] Brasilia--The robust bloc of 303 legislators gives the leader of the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] in the Constituent Assembly, Senator Mario Covas, the right to the help of 38 deputy leaders. Although constantly speaking and meeting, they are not the real base of the leader's support. There is an unofficial group of five deputies who make up "an inner circle" around Covas. The "confidants" of the PMDB leader are Antonio Brito, Antonio Perosa, Euclides Scalco, Paulo Macarini and Robson Marinho.

That group was formed between the election of Covas and the appointment of the reporters for the committees and subcommittees. Brito, Perosa and Marinho are in their first legislature; Scalco had never worked with Covas before and Macarini left Congress 20 years ago, cassated on the same day as Mario Covas, and they never worked together again.

"To speak to those five, is to know the Constituent Assembly," declares an adviser to Senator Jose Richa.

Actually, there was never a joint work by deputy leaders where the leader controls everything, giving few orders but always listening a great deal. At the beginning, Covas appointed Scalco and Macarini as the first deputy leaders. Scalco was given administration, primarily with the deputy leaders who work with the committees and subcommittees. Macarini takes care of the day to day work in the plenary sessions. Through them, he picks up what has been passed that is important in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The other three are daily assistants.

Pharmacist-chemist Euclides Scalco, 54, is considered in political circles as a true alchemist, because within the PMDB he manages to arrange combinations among various factions without offending any of them.

This year, for example, he was one of the two creators of the candidacy of Luiz Henrique to the leadership of the bloc. Shortly thereafter, he was one of the poll watchers for Mario Covas against Luiz Henrique. He is a friend of Jose Richa and trusted by Ulysses Guimaraes. He is the former chief of the Civilian Household of Richa and secretary of health--he will assume the post after the Constituent Assembly--for Alvaro Dias, who has been throwing darts at his predecessor.

Always saying little, Scalco, a native of Rio Grande do Sul, who was involved in politics in Parana, beginning with the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party], he has a simple formula for the trust he succeeds in arousing in the various factions of the party: Loyalty and frankness. If he has anything to say, he says it to your face. That is why he can be loyal to Ulysses, Covas, Richa, Alvaro Dias, and still be friends with Affonso Camargo.

Another former member of the PTB is Paulo Macarini, 55, of Santa Catarina. He was a deputy leader for Covas for 3 years, until he was cassated in January 1969. That old bond does not mean absolute loyalty: Macarini voted for Luiz Henrique against Covas. However, he was invited to be a deputy leader days later. He is the one who commands the deputy leaders on the floor during the plenary session. His main concern is that up to now more than 50 percent of the statements made from the speakers platform of the Constituent Assembly have been on municipal problems such as roads, bridges, and so forth.

Unlike the brainy Scalco, Macarini, who headed IAPAS [Institute for Administration of Social Assistance and Welfare] for 10 months, is the best humored and biggest punster of the group. The "Covas group" does not concentrate on one subject. "We work 18 hours a day," says Macarini, "and we discuss everything," finishes Scalco.

A proof of this was Thursday night. They made a long analysis with the 23 deputy leaders who control the subcommittees. By 2200 they had an X-ray of the Constituent Assembly. Later they went to the apartment of Jose Richa. There they discussed the political question of the moment and decided to pass the ball to President Sarney on the question of presidential succession.

Scalco attributes the success in the leadership of the bloc to the leadership of Covas, which he considers very democratic "Personnel proudly say that he is their leader."

One of the newest aides is the recently arrived journalist, Antonio Brito, former spokesman for Tancredo Neves. He approached Covas during the creation of the committees and never left his side. From Sao Paulo, Antonio Perosa has never had an elective post before and is a friend of the Covas family. Robson Marinho was the prefect of Sao Jose dos Campos and chairman of the Legislative Assembly of Sao Paulo. They do a sort of ant-like work, moving between the committees and the bloc, "feeling out" the directions of the Constituent Assembly.

8908

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EMPLOYMENT AVAILABILITY ON DECLINE, STRIKES ON RISE

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 17 May 87 p 42

[Article by Lisa Franca: "Level Of Employment Growth Is Declining"]

[Text] The level of growth of employment on the official urban market continues to decline each month, repeating the trend that began in October last year. In March only 4,840 new jobs were created, which is a very small number, according to an analysis by experts of the Secretariat of Employment and Wages of the Ministry of Labor.

The situation appears even more serious when the growth in the level of work is examined in each specific area. There was no increase in employment in industry (which is the area that drives others). The sector that grew the most was that of services. In it, however, 35 percent of the new jobs are considered as being of a seasonal nature, which means contracts made in the area of education for absorbing only the personnel released at the end of the school year.

The loss of jobs in the transformation industry (the footwear branch alone lost 5,126 jobs), and the reduction by 10,861 jobs in the retail industry, indicate a picture of a clearcut slowdown in the rate of growth of the economy, according to Licio Camargo, the undersecretary for employment. The 4,840 new jobs which appeared in March "point, in practical terms, to a stagnation of the labor market in the month," concluded Licio.

Despite the level of available employment declining every month, the number of workers on strike has increased. In February they numbered 316,000. In March, that contingent doubled to 677,775 idled workers. The area that had the greatest effect on that increase was that of public operations, with more than a million work days lost in March alone. The number of workers on strike also increased by comparison with the past month in the areas of education and culture, maritime transportation, ground transportation and bank companies.

Public administration employees head the strikes for one main reason, according to experts of the Ministry of Labor: Despite having better skills and a longer time in service, they have lower wages. The average can be as much as 40 percent lower than those of employees of communications services and up to 70 percent lower than those of the employees who work in public utility services.

1987 SUGAR EXPORTS TO BE LIMITED, CONTRACTS RENEGOTIATED

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 17 May 87 p 45

[Text] Sao Paulo--Brazil, which exports 2.7 million tons of sugar annually, will sell only 1 million tons abroad in 1987, a decline of 270 percent. At the same time, the country is renegotiating exports already contracted for, with dollar losses, since the contracts favored the importers, as in the case of an English trading company, Man, which indirectly will profit by about \$10 million (313 million cruzados) in the renegotiation with Brazil.

The country had to renegotiate quantities of sugar already contracted because it was in no position to deliver it to the buyers. A large producer in the southeast region declared yesterday afternoon when he learned about that business that "The country needs to make more alcohol this year and renegotiated sugar export contracts will always benefit the buyers. They are flexible contracts and they always favor the buyer, even in the selection of the shipping date."

Other sugar export contracts already signed abroad will have to be renegotiated in coming days and months. There is no other alternative, it was revealed by an influential manager of a sugar and alcohol manufacturing cooperative in the southeast region.

"We have suffered a decline in the sugarcane harvest and, in addition, there was an increase in alcohol and sugar consumption in past months. Sugar production should be around 7.5 to 8 million tons and alcohol production between 12 and 13 billion liters," declared the businessman, who preferred to remain anonymous, fearing "persecution by some government official."

Businessmen consulted also emphasized that in the time prior to the management of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce by Jose Hugo Castelo Branco, 4 million tons of sugar were sold abroad, always with provisions that protected the importer. It is those 4 million tons that have to be better brokered and more advantageously handled in the future when the country is in a condition to deliver the product.

Private businessmen are in favor of having their sector take over the area of exporting now handled by the Sugar and Alcohol Institute [IAA], but they are encountering serious difficulties in having that happen quickly. "It even appears that the profits are so great there that no one wants to let go," said a sugarcane grower ironically.

An exporter even confirmed that the 4 million tons exported by the IAA are owed until 1989 (there is little to be exported in that last year).

"Profits by foreign operators in brokering are indirect; They profit on sugar futures. That is what happened with the Man Company of England.

The president of COPERSUGAR, Werther Anichino, confirmed that with the danger of the lack of sugar on the domestic market, the cooperative he heads purchased 800,000 50-kilo sacks of sugar from the IAA before the price increase, however, he resold it to his customers at the old prices.

According to Werther Anichino, COPERSUGAR will not buy the remaining 400,000 sacks of sugar offered by the IAA from its export stocks "since in anticipation of the harvest we can provide for domestic demand."

However, the situation of sugar and alcohol producers in the country is not at all tranquil. PETROBRAS did not buy alcohol in April or this month. It alleges a lack of money and even wants to change the rules for paying the plant owners: Pursuant to a presidential decree, alcohol can be paid in 6 months to the distillers. PETROBRAS wants to pay the distillers in 12 months. Negotiations promise to be long.

8908

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BRIEFS

OIL DERIVATIVES CONSUMPTION DATA--The first price increases for oil by-products this year, decreed on 27 February and 15 April, were still not enough for diminishing demand, according to PETROBRAS. Consumption of byproducts in April was 1,113,000 barrels per day, 12.9 percent higher than in April 1986 and 10.3 percent higher than the previous month, when 1,008,000 barrels were consumed daily. Gasoline consumption in April was 137,500 barrels daily, a 0.9 percent decline by comparison with the same month in 1986 and 18.7 percent more than in March. Vehicular fuel alcohol demand in April was 185,400 barrels daily, slightly less than the 188,700 barrels consumed the previous month and 4 percent more by comparison with April 1986. From January to April, overall consumption of byproducts was 1,110,000 barrels per day, 14.7 percent more than in the same period the previous year. In the first 4 months, the average demand for gasoline was 139,700 barrels per day, 3.9 percent higher by comparison with the same period last year. Hydrated alcohol in those 4 months reached a consumption level of 150,300 barrels per day, an increase of 22.7 percent. The petroleum byproduct that showed the greatest increase in consumption in April by comparison with the same month in 1986, was fuel oil: 208,200 barrels per day, a 22.1-percent increase. Demand for diesel oil also continues high: a total of 398,400 barrels per day in April, a 13.9-percent increase. In 12 months the average demand for oil byproducts was 1,128,000 barrels per day, a 13.9-percent increase over the same previous period. [Text] [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 19 May 87 p 22] 8908

INTERNATIONAL RESERVES DATA--Brasilia--Brazilian international reserves are above \$2.5 billion and can exceed \$3 billion, asserted the vice president of the International Area of the Bank of Brazil, Adroaldo Moura da Silva, yesterday. He presented optimistic forecasts with respect to the performance of the trade balance as of this month, when the balance should be around \$500 million: "The recovery of Brazilian exports is the best news in the foreign area in the last 45 days." For coming months, his forecasts are even more promising: "The balance will be around \$700 million this month, reaching \$1 billion in August. The position of international reserves fell to \$3.7 billion in January in the concept of **cash**, according to the Central Bank, with a decline of \$856 million compared to December 1986. Recently, Central Bank President Fernando Millet admitted that international reserves are still around \$3 billion and should remain at that level in coming months. [Text] [Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 20 May 87 p 20] 8908

PINOCHET ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION, ELECTIONS

Santiago LA NACION in Spanish 28 May 87 pp 4-6

[Interview with President Augusto Pinochet by the La Moneda press corps at a breakfast meeting; date, time, and place not given]

[Text] The president spoke with the journalists frankly, and his answers clarified a number of situations which, in his opinion, the interested parties have deviously tried to distort. "We have governed without partisan considerations . . . because the Armed Forces and Forces of Order are beyond parties." "We have been waging a campaign since 1973, and thanks to that we are progressing . . . Moreover, we soldiers like to be on campaign." "And when inflation is low, as has happened for many months, they (the opposition) don't say anything!"

Here is the complete text of the journalists' questions and His Excellency's responses:

Referents

[Hernan Collao M., LA NACION] Mr President, how and to what extent do you think the opposition could interfere with the results of the 1989 plebiscite?

[Answer] Amid so many "referents," as they call them, and so many alliances and proposals, it is hard to give an opinion. But the opposition is characterized by at least two things: It does not know the country, and it does not know the government.

Because it does not know the country, it has failed in all of its strategies. The "peaceful protests," which were a fraud because there was nothing peaceful about them, were rejected by the vast majority. They only served the communist strategy. The "social mobilization" and the "ungovernability," which are alien concepts, did not attract the support of the community. I am certain that the public viewed them simply as more evidence of political shenanigans and political incompetence. Finally, they have called for "free elections," using a concept that is attractive but confusing because it does not reflect the true objective they have in mind. As a result, they will fall into the void once again.

They do not know the government either, even though they have seen us in action for several years. They attack us on all sides and malign everything we have done, without concern for the inconsistency of this criticism. That is their greatest weakness. They prefer their slogans and the myths they have created, to the reality of authority and its decisions. They refuse to accept the fact that, thanks to the Armed Forces and the victory of 1973, Chile regained its freedom and is building its democracy. They are incapable of understanding that, as we have said and as we promised, we are moving toward full institutionality in accordance with the Constitution.

One of the typical representatives of the opposition has recently begun talking about the "fraud of 1989." In other words, they are already beginning to create a false image, to invent something based on specifically designed premises that are the product of their erroneous, apocalyptic vision.

We know them. This is the way they act, and it is important to bear this in mind so that we will never be deceived by them. The country will go through some decisive moments. It will have to be clear on its ideas, and I think the vast majority is. At that moment of decision, I doubt that the opposition, or at least its leaders, will change their attitudes from what we have seen now. We must, then, take united action to overcome them.

Normalization

[Fernando Martinez C., LA SEGUNDA and Radio Agricultura] Mr President, it is an objective fact that the government has taken important steps in the process of institutional normalization. Major laws such as those concerning the Regional Development Councils (COREDES), the political parties, and voter registration have been enacted. Others, such as the legislation on the Community Development Councils (CODECOS) to cite one example, are going through the legislative process. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that the opposition sectors believe, and have stated, that what has been done is not enough. Last Tuesday 19 May, without going any further, Gabriel Valdes Subercaseaux made accusations against the government when advocating a partial network of radio stations. You, Mr President, have stated repeatedly that the institutional calendar will be carried out completely. Could you reveal what steps will come next in the normalization program designed by the government, in accordance with what was ratified by the citizens when they approved the Constitution of 1980?

[Answer] The answer to your question can be found in the Constitution. Read it, analyze it, and you will see. The government is adhering to the Constitution, and has complied with its provisions. It will continue to do so.

The constitutional organic laws have been sent to the Government Junta as scheduled. Some have completed the legislative process already, and others will shortly.

If you analyze the situation, you will see that the Party Law is fully regulating the formation of these organizations. The Electoral Service is registering the citizens. Isn't that normalization?

And now I say to you, "A watched pot never boils." These are complex matters, and we must proceed step by step. On the other hand, they clamored so loudly for the party legislation, and now that we have it, what have they done? With the exception of a few factions, most continue to discuss the most varied issues and to spend their time attacking the government. The way things are, even when the government makes progress, it is still criticized. We honor our word, and the opposition continues to attack and condemn us anyway. How can we figure them out?

And that's the way it will stay, don't doubt it for a minute. On the one hand, the country is progressing and building democracy. The government is doing its job. On the other hand, the opposition politicians are divorced from reality, lost. Well, I wonder, will they ever try to understand the situation in this country? If they are not interested in becoming familiar with the regions, then how will they achieve their aspiration of forming a National Congress? Or will they arrive at that phase without understanding anything either?

Institutionality

[Ricardo Coya G., Chilean National Television] Mr President, you told the Economic and Social Council that now is the time to evaluate what the government has achieved, to reinforce its work so that it can be consolidated and disseminated. On the same occasion, you stated that the Marxist enemy and the political adversary are willing to redouble their actions to reverse the institutional process. You added that today we must strengthen our presence and our efforts to ensure that the country continues to progress and does not fall into anarchy . . . How can those Chileans who recognize the current government's work contribute to the consolidation of what has been done in the last 14 years, and to preventing the Marxists from achieving their goal of impeding the institutional advancement?

[Answer] The contribution should, in the first place, take the form of a personal willingness to fully comprehend the country's situation and the challenges it faces. It is imperative that they put everything in the proper perspective, that they recall the threat and communist aggression from 1970 to 1973, that they remember the deep crisis we went through, that they value the significance of 11 September and thus appreciate what we have done and accomplished. The date of 11 September represents a victory for liberty and democracy! If we had not won then, we would be sharing the same plight as many nations that are submerged in collectivism, repression, and poverty.

When one has a clear idea of all of this, one can appreciate more fully what it means to build an institutionality, to create political institutions, and actually to advance, step by step, toward a system of liberty. Because that is what we are doing--laying the groundwork for a free society! Politically and economically. On the one hand, there is the Political Party Law, the Voter Registration, COREDES, and so on. On the other hand, there is a social market economy that allows for growth, that generates progress, that enables us to overcome our problems. Add to that the social aspect: housing, direct health subsidies, education, employment, etc.

So you ask me, How to contribute? Well, by understanding. Without allowing oneself to be swayed by prejudice or malicious criticism aimed at destroying, sullyng, sowing hatred. Everyone in his place, defending the essential principles, acting in good faith: the worker doing his job and demanding that his rights be respected; the union leader battling for his legitimate interests, without politicizing; the farmer and the industrialist defending free enterprise. Each one doing what he is supposed to.

In the second place, a contribution can also be made by conveying confidence and optimism. I said a few days ago that the vanguard is the place where we belong, because we cannot remain behind. We must convince, demonstrate the truth of our cause, observe other countries that are undergoing difficulties without any stability, while we are progressing.

What I propose is not a contribution to a party or a sector. It is a contribution by everyone to something that is ours, and for which we are all responsible. I understand that is not easy, but that's the way it is.

Bolivia

[Ana Maria Sir de la F., Television Channel 11] Mr President, what is your opinion of the Bolivian proposal calling for a corridor giving them access to the sea through our country, and if this should not be possible, a referendum to determine whether or not the public approves of the idea?

[Answer] Only the superficial aspects of this matter have been revealed by the Foreign Ministry so far. The proposal itself will be made public next week. At the appropriate time and through the appropriate channels, the opinion of the president of the public will be made known. Then all the background information can be analyzed.

Parties

[Sara Julia Barra L., EL MERCURIO] If your party is Chile and national unity, do you believe there is any party or group of parties at this time that can take over the country and continue in the future the national unification process that the Armed Forces have carried out in all spheres in recent years?

[Answer] The parties are just being formed. They are being constituted. Some of them have issued their Declarations of Principles, and on that basis I could arrive at an opinion, but I think that would be hasty or risky. Don't forget, Madame, that as they say, "There's many a slip twixt cup and lip." We must wait. We'll see how they take shape, how they act, and then we can evaluate them.

Now, we have governed without partisan considerations, not because we think they are negative, but because the Armed Forces and the Forces of Order are beyond parties. Our position is above partisanship. We identify with the national interest, with higher interests; we act on behalf of Chile, for the good of lasting values. Look at what our Declaration of Principles says.

Our work falls within those parameters, and for this reason it has interpreted, with greater or lesser intensity, the vast majority of Chileans. The support that this government has received from the people during its time in office has not been matched by any other government. Consider the National Consultation and the Plebiscite of 1980. The Chilean, the man and woman of our homeland, was there, regardless of political opinions. There was a fundamental, basic unity there, because the sentiment of the people was understood. And the people understood what was at stake, and voted for what they thought corresponded to the ideal.

That is the most important thing, to be sure. To promote unity on the basis of what is permanent, liberty, national values, repudiation of Marxist totalitarianism, faith in ourselves and our abilities.

In the future there may be, of course, parties that embody these ideals. I harbor the hope that experience will contribute to this and will help the parties grasp the citizen's true aspirations. But in addition to those parties, there will be that great majority of Chileans who will not be in the parties, and who will know, perhaps with more strength and spirit than party activists, how to defend those principles.

Political Shenanigans

[Alfredo Gonzalez P., LA TERCERA DE LA HORA] Despite the evident socioeconomic progress in this country, the publicity campaigns against it, both abroad and at home, would appear to be stronger and more adept than the stubborn facts. This clearly casts a shadow on the future of the current government, given that more people will probably vote no in 1989 under the influence of the negative arguments (uncontrolled price increases, unemployment, plummeting buying power, the UF problem, etc.) . . .

What could the government do or say to convince the public, especially the most "closed-minded," that these publicity campaigns involve a combination of myths and demagoguery?

[Answer] It is possible that the government is somewhat responsible for not combatting the political shenanigans and demagoguery more vigorously. Nonetheless, most of the blame falls on the shoulders of those organizations, sectors, and even individuals who in the past were deluded by misguided opinions and policies, who are aware of the danger of demagoguery, and who today remain silent and passive in the face of attempts by a few to rewrite history.

It is the leaders who must defend trade union freedom. It is the new universities and the private schools that must defend their right to impart knowledge. It is the businessmen and all property owners who must protect their property rights. Who, if not the farmers, must respond to those who are already thinking about agrarian reform again?

The opposition critics are now talking about uncontrolled price increases and chronic inflation because the CPI has gone up, within the expected range and taking into account certain explainable difficulties. They forget that when

they were in government, there were astronomical inflation rates, some of them setting world records. And when inflation is low, as has happened for many months, they don't say anything! They attack on another front.

At the same time, they criticize unemployment, yet they are incapable of recognizing the extremely important and persistent rise in employment, which has made it possible to hire new manpower and to reduce unemployment.

So what do they propose? Sure, a series of measures that might produce momentary relief, but that in the long run would exacerbate the problems. So they don't care if inflation is set loose and gets out of hand. They just want to curry favor, so they don't care if wages are destroyed mercilessly.

I am convinced that in the economic sphere, we must act with the utmost responsibility and seriousness. We must advance and grow on solid foundations, with caution, because otherwise we will bring on worse ills. Now, if difficulties arise anyway because of other influences, such as the external factor, well, we must be prepared to react, dealing with them as best we can.

[Maria Isabel Besnier J., "The Latest News"] Mr President, on what facts or background did you base your assertion that the CIA played a role in the attempt on your life?

[Answer] What I said on that occasion. That is all.

Special Emphasis

[Percival Bell A., EL SUR of Concepcion] Many people have expressed the need to place greater emphasis on the decentralization of the country, and have said it would be a good idea to move the capital. . . What is your opinion in that regard, and what are your reasons?

[Answer] Both regionalization and administrative decentralization are matters of great importance to the country, and we have given them special emphasis. Much has been accomplished, and quite a bit remains to be done.

Moving the capital is, naturally, linked to these objectives, but it has been studied by the Economic and Social Council and should be considered in that light. A decision on this issue requires a profound analysis that has not yet been made. It is an interesting idea, and should be examined by many.

General Matthei

[Fernando Sepulveda G., Radio Minería and Orbe News Agency] Mr President, the commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force, a member of the Government Junta, Air Force Gen Fernando Matthei A., stated recently in Spain that his branch of the military will not remain in the government after 1989 . . . If those statements are true, what is your opinion of them? Is this possible, or can the chief of that branch only opt to retire, allowing the Air Force to carry out the task it was sworn to fulfill in 1973 and again in 1980?

[Answer] I do not have a reliable version of what Gen Matthei allegedly said, so I have no comment on the statements attributed to him.

The current functions of the Armed Forces and the Forces of Order will conclude when the Political Constitution comes into full force. Then they will return to their high military responsibilities, and will fulfill their mission as the guarantors of the institutional order of the republic. Read the Constitution, and take note of the transitory norms and Articles 90, 95, and 86.

So what is so strange about what Gen Matthei said, if he indeed said it? The problem is, those who heard his words do not know the Constitution, and that ignorance, coupled with a great deal of bad faith, explains the rumors that are flying and the consequences they have led to.

Now as for his retirement as commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force, that is another matter. That will be a personal decision for him to make, and he will make it at the appropriate time. I have no reason to comment on that for now.

On Campaign

[Fernando Recabarren C., Radio Nacional and Dinacos] Mr President, certain sectors contend that the government is waging an "election campaign." What is your opinion of those comments?

[Answer] Look, Sir, those sectors thrive on interpretations of the facts, and their inferences are always wrong. Since they distort reality, they draw erroneous conclusions. They malign everything the government does! You're damned if you do and damned if you don't. Where is the campaign? In the distribution of housing? In my tours to the north and south? In my wife's social work and volunteer work? In our interest in ensuring that Chileans register to vote? In the work of the ministers? In the effort to keep the economy growing?

But we are doing what we have always done! We have been on a campaign since 1973, and thanks to that, we are progressing! The government has a clear advantage: Its objectives are well-defined, and it takes coordinated action. There is a homogeneous team which is working for the country, which believes in the country, and which, with that spirit and specific serious programs, is moving forward.

Sure, the opposition is losing hope. Now they are analyzing and seeing that we continue to take action and to achieve successes. So what could be better than to resort to the slogans and the mottos of proselytism? And since they used to do everything for electoral purposes, well, it is understandable that they attribute any work or progress that anyone achieves to the same motives.

But the people are not deceived so easily. They know their president, and they have followed him all these years. I have visited the entire country, and I will continue to do so, God willing. And sure, we will continue to progress, opening public works projects, carrying out plans, providing

solutions, working with greater vigor. That is what we are here for. And besides, . . . we soldiers like to be on campaign.

Surveys

[Rosa Sanchez J., Radio Antena Uno and UPI Agency] Mr President, in your interview with the French daily LE MONDE you contended that you have 40 percent citizen support at this time. Could you give us a little more background on the basis for your assertion, and can you tell us whether the government is interested in the other 60 percent?

[Answer] Look, these are, of course, estimates or relative figures that came from analyses and evaluations of various elements. It is no secret that the government is constantly conducting opinion surveys, and there is no reason to release their results every time. What I stated to LE MONDE was a hypothesis, in the sense that it is not always possible to determine in advance or very accurately how much of the public will support a given cause. That support is diverse, and it changes from one moment to the next, because different circumstances have a significant influence. One phase is the stage before a campaign, another the presentation of options, and still another the reaction of each citizen to the proposed options. I am saying here that when it comes to the final phase, we can apply the old saying that "it's even better with a guitar," meaning that one's actions are enhanced by the realization of the responsibility one has.

Response

[Gemma Contreras B., Radio Cooperativa] For several months now, various ministers and government officials have been pointing to the need for the regime's works and principles to be projected beyond 1989. The undersecretary of regional development, Brig Gen Luis Patricio Serre, even stated that in his view, and considering his personal opinion like that of any citizen, the ideal man to consolidate this work is President Pinochet himself. Other government leaders have made the same assertion, primarily in informal conversations. Mr President, leaving aside the Government Junta's proposition with regard to the presidential succession, I would like to know if you would like to be chosen to do this job. I will ask the question in another way: Are you willing to serve your country, as you have done repeatedly, by holding the office of president of the republic for the next term if the Military Junta so decides? (I expect a very long answer.)

[Answer] You may be expecting a very long answer, but this one will be short. That matter will be resolved in due time, and the decision will be made known through the appropriate channels.

Registration

[Marcos Lorca O., Radio Chena of San Bernardo] Mr President, the various political sectors of the country had been calling upon the government to enact and enforce a law enabling Chileans to register as citizens to participate in future elections or plebiscites. That law is now a reality. However, the same people who asked for it later objected to various aspects. Subsequently,

the main leaders who had attacked the system did register. Nevertheless, objectively the registration system is not proceeding as quickly as expected. To what do you attribute this delay?

[Answer] It may be due to various factors, ranging from a certain amount of apathy regarding the fulfillment of these duties, to the tendency some people have to leave things to the last minute. Since the deadline is a long way off, the concern is not there, it has not taken hold. Some think that no one is registering because there is no interest in "things political" these days. I think this would be a good topic for a sociological study. A serious study would be interesting.

In any event, everyone has an obligation to register sooner rather than later. It is a commitment that cannot be evaded. The government has made the situation clear, and the appropriate authorities have reiterated this many times.

8926

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POLITICIANS, CHURCH COMMENT ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

Bishops Issue Statement After Conference

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 23 May 87 pp A1, A12

[Text] The bishops of our country asserted yesterday that all Chileans must work together sincerely in seeking a consensus of nonviolence, adding that the authorities, in turn, must move ahead "resolutely in their patriotic duty to promptly open the door to a true democracy."

Social and political leaders recalled the words of John Paul II, to the effect that they should "transcend individual interests for the sake of the nation's higher common good and out of respect for the rights of man, every man, who is created in the image and likeness of God."

"Without entering into fields that are not properly ours, we are ready to serve Chile through the Gospel, thus facilitating dialogue so that all sectors can achieve the moral heights that the circumstances require," they indicate.

The remarks are contained in the document "the challenges of reconciliation," which was made public yesterday at a press conference by the secretary general of the Episcopal Conference, Msgr Sergio Contreras. It marked the conclusion of the plenary assembly of the Chilean Catholic Church's highest body, which took place over 3 days at the Schoenstatt Shrine and whose purpose was to analyze national reconciliation in light of the Holy Father's messages.

Elsewhere in the three and a half page declaration, which is signed by the president of the Episcopal Conference, Msgr Bernardino Pinera, and by Msgr Contreras, the prelates talk about the need for immediate national reconciliation and invite all Chileans to move into action, indicating in this regard that "if our reconciliation with God is sincere, it must have fraternal consequences."

They also call for raising the level of the dialogue by putting an end to discrediting and insult and underscore the need for social justice and economic policies with a social dimension to help achieve reconciliation.

They go on to say that there are structures that are thwarting reconciliation and that discrimination which prevents all Chileans from participating fully in the achievement of the common good must end.

Declaration

The declaration entitled "the challenges of reconciliation" reads as follows:

"1. The Holy Father's visit has had a profound impact on the heart of all Chileans.

"We must embrace his teachings and practice them in our personal and social lives.

"'We have a grave responsibility,' the pope told us: to serve with all of our being the community of men with God and of men among themselves.' And he added: '...the service to unity (is) a fundamental dimension of our pastoral mission' (Bishops, No 3).

"We will begin with a call for national reconciliation that does not admit delays.

"2. The pope's testimony was an invitation for all of us to reconcile ourselves with God. We are witnesses to the sincerity of so many conversions and to the changes that they have brought in the lives of many families. Efforts have been made to overcome sin, which is 'the root of all evil' (Bishops, No 6). This encourages us in the hope that a personal encounter with the risen Christ will be the beginning of a profound social reconciliation as well.

"'This is my message,' the pope told young people. "That Jesus be the cornerstone of your lives and of the new evangelization that you must build in generous, shared solidarity. There can be no authentic human growth in peace and justice, in truth and freedom, unless Christ is present with his saving strength' (Young People, No 6).

"3. We now invite all Chileans to move into action. If our reconciliation with God is sincere, it must have fraternal consequences. Those who do not share our faith also feel the need for a sensible, patriotic understanding that will put an end to the climate of hate and aggressiveness that so anguishes our people.

"4. Let us raise the level of our dialogue. Let us rid our language of discrediting and insult. Let us follow the example of the pope, who was heeded with broad respect, because he told us all truths without offending anyone. Mutual trust and respect are a basic condition for working together for the good of Chile.

"The pope told the bishops: 'The church in Chile has been characterized by great sensitivity in perceiving that the Truth of Christ truly illuminates all spheres of man's and society's life. Never tire of publicizing the church's

doctrine in all its scope, so that it serves as an aid when the time comes to address problems with authentically Christian criteria' (Bishops, No 5).

"5. Reconciliation demands social justice. 'The poor cannot wait!' (ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America], No 7). We must all sacrifice and share the current hard times. It is the duty of the haves to give an example of restraint in their lives and of sensitivity to poverty. Businessmen must help to give jobs and just wages to their workers out of respect for their human and Christian dignity. We congratulate those who have already made a commitment in this regard.

"6. Economic policies must increasingly include the social dimension. 'The comprehensive development of individuals is the gauge and the goal of every development project,' the Holy Father also said in his Peace Message this year. Future progress cannot postpone this minimum level of human welfare that every family longs for and to which it is fully entitled. Unless significant strides are made in dealing with major inequalities, social reconciliation will be difficult.

"The pope also spoke to us of an economy of solidarity and of an ethic of work. These are issues that deserve to be studied in depth and put into practice.

"7. There are also structures that are thwarting reconciliation. We must put an end to the hateful discrimination that prevents all Chileans from taking part fully in the achievement of the common good.

"The Holy Father told us clearly: '...Chile should be encouraged to promptly and duly implement measures that in the not too distant future will enable the citizenry to take part fully and responsibly in making the great decisions that affect the life of the nation. Such measures must be consolidated, perfected and complemented for the good of the nation, so that they serve as valid instruments for social peace in a Christian country in which all must recognize themselves as children of God and brothers in Christ' (Bishops, No 6).

"8. All Chileans must work together sincerely in seeking a consensus of nonviolence. The authorities must move ahead resolutely in their patriotic duty to promptly open the door to true democracy, and political and social leaders 'must overcome individual interests for the sake of the nation's higher common good and out of respect for the rights of man, every man, who is created in the image and likeness of God' (Political Leaders).

"9. Without entering into fields that are not properly ours, we are ready to serve Chile through the Gospel, thus facilitating dialogue so that all sectors can achieve the moral heights that the circumstances require.

"10. We will continue working with the teachings of the pope, whose words, which are always rooted in Jesus Christ, 'seek to convey the Message of the Gospel and the universal values of brotherhood, justice, peace and freedom' (Political Leaders).

"11. We hope that this call is heeded by all and that a great movement of prayer to the Lord Jesus, who is the source of reconciliation, and to his Mother, the Virgin of the Carmen, the Patron of Chile, helps us all to be instruments of peace. We will conclude by invoking Sister Teresa de Los Andes, who was providentially beatified at the Eucharist of Reconciliation. We echo the pope's words: 'Love is stronger' (Parque, No 10); 'love always conquers' (Young People, No 7).

"Santiago, 22 May 1987.

"For the Episcopal Conference of Chile,

"Bernardino Pinera C., Archbishop of La Serena, President of the Episcopal Conference of Chile.

"Sergio Contreras Navia, Bishop of Temuco, Secretary of the Episcopal Conference of Chile."

Press Conference

After reading the bishops' document, Msgr Sergio Contreras answered questions from reporters. He stated, first of all, that the declaration "is essentially an appeal to lay people to fulfill their mission." He stressed in this regard that the church hierarchy would keep on working for reconciliation.

When asked about the concept of full participation that the church hierarchy mentions in the document as a requirement for Chileans in achieving the common good, Msgr Contreras indicated that it encompasses "what will enable each Chilean to act at his own level by proposing solutions to his problems in all spheres, labor, social and political as well."

As to whether full participation is synonymous with democracy in the bishops' eyes, he replied that democracy is one aspect of reconciliation, but not the only one, that it represents the political sphere, underscoring that reconciliation is much deeper.

He was asked whether calling for full participation means calling for elections. He replied that "we are calling for full participation," which does not necessarily mean specific procedural demands. He explained that citizens have a right to elect their rulers and that this right is being defended.

"We have sought to talk in very general terms about the rights of every citizen to participate in society," he explained.

Lastly, he recalled that an Episcopal Conference would be held next August to analyze the various issues that are of interest to the Chilean Church.

Politicians View Bishops' Declaration

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 24 May 87 p C2

[Text] Leaders of various political groups yesterday expressed their views on the document "the challenges of reconciliation" that the country's bishops released at the conclusion of their special 3-day plenary assembly at the Schoenstatt Shrine.

In the declaration, which was made public by the secretary general of the Episcopal Conference, Msgr Sergio Contreras, the prelates laid the groundwork for reconciliation among all national sectors and referred to the current obstacles to consolidating this process in light of the messages of John Paul II.

Andres Chadwick

Andres Chadwick, a leading member of the Political Commission of National Renewal, indicated that the declaration of the Episcopal Conference "captures the spirit that the pope called for in light of the Gospel and, with lofty aims, sends a message of reconciliation to all Chileans without exception."

He said that "previous declarations by the bishops lapsed into political issues in which we Catholics are free to take approaches that differ with those that the prelates offered us. Therefore, I believe that the bishops' most recent declaration marks a substantial change in the form and substance of their proposals."

As for the specific proposal that the prelates are making in the political sphere, he stated that "the way in which they call on government authorities and political leaders to work together to achieve a future democracy is very important, inasmuch as on the one hand they call on politicians to raise the level of the dialogue, which regrettably today is in shambles among almost all of them, and on the other they call on them to place the country's general interests ahead of partisan interests, the opposite of which is the case today."

Adolfo Zaldivar

Adolfo Zaldivar, the national adviser of the Christian Democrats, indicated that "the bishops are once again calling on us to reconcile as brothers. Their remarks are especially important now, because they are based on the teachings that His Holiness John Paul II gave us during his visit."

"I think that as members of the opposition we must take specific steps to help create spaces that will enable us to overcome our conflicts through democratic means whereby the sovereign people decide our destiny," he said.

He said that he fully shared the opinions of the prelates, adding that "I personally hope to be consistent with them, while acknowledging that I have often failed and that to a great extent this country fell because we were unable to remain loyal to the values of democracy and the individual."

He said that "the pleas that the bishops are making reflect concerns that they have always raised, and the truth is that if we had listened to them in time, perhaps the country would not now be in such a delicate, conflict-ridden situation."

As for the prelates' appeal to political and social leaders to overcome individual interests for the sake of the common good, he acknowledged that the church is right, "inasmuch as we must put any personal differences or interests behind us if we really want to work for the great national interests, and each party also has to do this internally."

Ricardo Navarrete

The secretary general of the Radical Party, Ricardo Navarrete, indicated that the bishops' declaration is "an incisively clear diagnosis of conditions in the country. It is remarkably accurate in that it charts a course for overcoming the burdens we are bearing, and it is hopeful, because it represents the huge moral and spiritual weight of the church, which is even greater since the visit of the Supreme Pontiff."

He said that "in their remarks the prelates repeat what they have said before, which the government authorities called a political proclamation but which, like this one, merely addressed actual conditions and emphasized the need to seek answers to them."

"We agreed with that declaration at the time and we are again in agreement with the current one," added Navarrete.

German Correa

The acting president of the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), German Correa, stated that he fully agreed with the views expressed by the bishops of the Episcopal Conference about the way to achieve reconciliation.

"Reconciliation is achieved through social justice, through economic policies that address the great inequalities that this regime has worsened, and through the elimination of structures and norms that institutionalize discrimination and exclusion and thus prevent all Chileans from taking part fully in national life," he remarked.

He said that he did not see much difference between this declaration and previous ones by the prelates, "inasmuch as these remarks are consistent with the proposals that they have been making for years with increasing urgency and anxiety over the worsening situation in the country."

He emphasized the church's moral authority, indicating that it "unquestionably is an element that is contributing and must contribute to the search for an understanding among all democratic forces in the country without exception."

Juan de Dios Carmona

The vice president of National Renewal, Juan de Dios Carmona, emphasized that the document released by the bishops "indicates tasks of reconciliation. It is more than words; it calls for action in this regard and establishes some

bases that by and large I find prudent and appropriate to the goal in question."

"Although they do not say so expressly, they acknowledge in a way that the authorities are making an effort to move forward towards democracy. I would not say that they are criticizing political leaders, but are asking why more headway is not being made," he commented.

When asked about the prelates' expressed willingness to facilitate the dialogue among national sectors, Carmona indicated that the proposal struck him as "very fine, because I would like to mention one specific thing. The feeling so far has been that the dialogue must be between the government and the opposition; this overlooks the fact that there are also social and political organizations and forces that are not part of the opposition and that so far the bishops have not taken into account."

Luis Cordero

Luis Cordero, a member of the Political Commission of National Renewal, stated that after the Holy Father's visit to our country, he had noticed that "the bishops were more timid about expressing their views on politics, even though this is unquestionably the issue that still concerns them most."

"He added that "although all Chileans want to see a full-fledged democracy established, it is inappropriate for the bishops to keep on trying to be the main actors in this political process and the promoters of democracy."

Cordero reiterated that a political process "is and will always be the exclusive province of the laity, not the clergy."

He acknowledged that the bishops' declaration "seems somewhat more moderate than customary political pronouncements. Nevertheless, it remains very far removed from the spiritual climate that the presence of John Paul II generated in our country."

"Moreover," Cordero added, "their appeal to all Chileans to move into action is of particular concern to me. It would not surprise me if, taken out of context, it became a slogan that could lead to renewed protests, work stoppages, violence and agitation, which they themselves say they want to eradicate."

In the Provinces

Arica (Julio Rojas Gallardo)--The main leaders and authorities in this city agreed that they should wholeheartedly embrace the Chilean bishops' appeal to seek reconciliation through consensus and totally reject violence.

In the view of the executive secretary of the Command for Free Elections, Christian Democrat Luis Leblanc, it is urgent to embrace "this appeal for solidarity from the bishops of Chile, our brothers in the faith and pastors. I don't think that anyone in Chile can refuse in this hour to seek the path that will lead all Chileans to a reconciliation through generous concessions

but while maintaining our dignity. Together we must urgently try to achieve this."

Rolando del Rio, a Social Democratic and teachers leader, attaches paramount importance to the episcopal letter. "It comes from those who in this country have the foremost moral authority and have given examples of solidarity and honesty. No one of good will could turn a deaf ear to this appeal. I am confident that reconciliation will be achieved. Europe achieved it after horrendous wars. How can we not be capable of achieving it?"

Antofagasta

Antofagasta (Ivonne Guicharrousse)--Labor and political leaders in this city voiced their total support for the document of the Episcopal Conference, expressing agreement on achieving social justice and full-fledged democracy.

The president of the Regional Council of the Medical Association, Dr Mario Besnier, said that "we physicians agree fully with the opinion of the bishops." He went on to say that the section on social justice was of special importance to them, "inasmuch as we want to do away with all discrimination and want more balanced economic policies, in health care especially."

The secretary general of the Radical Party, Juan Ahumada, indicated that in keeping with the party's line and to the extent that every effort is made to achieve social peace, the bishops' declaration is very valid.

Rancagua

Rancagua (Liliana Astudillo)--Jose Orostica, who is in charge of public relations for the National Confederation of Peasant and Indigenous Workers, said that he agreed with the statements of the bishops at the Assembly of the Episcopal Conference: "We farm workers," he said, "have never practiced violence, but we have been the victims of violence and repression when we have taken part in peaceful protests. Our headquarters has been attacked three times. So, we believe that all Chileans must reject any action that does not further a consensus."

Further Comments on Declaration

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 24 May 87 p 5

[Text] We cannot continue to discredit each other. I think that if we approach politics with a little more humility, we are all going to get better results. The country has a political concern that must be resolved as soon as possible," said the president of the National Party, Patricio Phillips, in commenting on the declaration of the Episcopal Conference called "the challenges of reconciliation."

"The rulers and the ruled must understand this and come to an agreement as soon as possible. That is what we in the National Party are seeking; we want to become a bridge between political parties and the government of the Armed Forces," Phillips added.

He explained that the foundation of the bishops' new message is the words that the Holy Father spoke during his visit to our country, words that "can arouse only tenderness and love in Chileans and people around the world."

Phillips went on to say that the National Party agrees with the economic approach that the bishops take and that John Paul II had already revealed in his speech at ECLA. "We agree with this economic and social viewpoint because it attaches importance to business, to private enterprise and to the workers. In this regard we feel that an understanding is needed among the State, business and labor to deal with unemployment and job training so that the workers earn decent wages. We must urgently help the needy," he stated.

In conclusion, the president of the National Party said that its working commissions are in full swing and would soon submit their conclusions to public opinion, the government and the country's democratic sectors.

Youth

The president of the youth section of the National Vanguard Party [Partido de Avanzada Nacional], Patricio Hidalgo, said that one of his group's projects is to make a wideranging appeal to young people in the other democratic parties to pave the way for a "generous dialogue."

"I think that the country's young people have a duty to grasp more deeply and more generously the appeals that have been made for reconciliation, because it is precisely our young people who are less scarred by the wounds of the past. We have to sit down at a table, without conditions, to analyze the future of our institutions after 1989," Hidalgo said.

The young attorney and politician stated that the political vote cast by the National Vanguard youth this past March includes an appeal to the economic authorities "to enact laws without so many technical details but with full sensitivity" to the social dimension of economic policy.

Regarding the bishops' recommendation "to put an end to the hateful discrimination that is preventing all Chileans from achieving the common good," Hidalgo indicated that the common good "is a constitutional mandate that is equally binding on the rulers and the ruled. Achieving it is the business of everyone. No sector is preeminent over another in this regard. The common good runs counter to exclusions, to violence and to terrorism. Thus, the bishops' appeal squares with the appeal of the 1980 Political Constitution and with the government's ongoing appeal."

Social Democrats

Carlos Aguirre, a member of the Executive Committee of Chilean Social Democracy, said that he had not yet had a chance to read the bishop's document in its entirety. "In principle, the points they make seem reasonable to me and coincide with what Social Democracy has publicly argued for time and again."

"An effective national understanding is needed to achieve reconciliation among all Chileans. Hence, the Democratic Alliance is taking very significant steps to expand the framework of the parties and social movements that are calling for free elections and to draft an alternative government program to replace the current one," Aguirre said.

He concluded by saying that "the dialogue for reconciliation must be conducted on increasingly better terms, because this is the only way to secure greater understanding among those who really want a reconciliation among Chileans and a return of democracy."

Specific Steps

"As a Chilean and as a Catholic I value highly the appeal that my bishops have made for specific steps towards reconciliation. This is a task for the government and the opposition," stated Ramon Briones, an attorney and leader of Christian Democracy.

"Such gestures have been lacking so far. On the contrary, we have seen personal positions grow more entrenched; what we have missed is disinterestedness among Chileans," Briones said in conclusion.

The Common Good

"We can be satisfied with what we are doing, because as a new political group we are constantly urging people to further the common good," said Jaime Tormo, the president of Radical Democracy. The group saw a summary of its principles, symbols and tenets published yesterday in the Official Gazette.

"As for the bishops' appeal, we must spell out what sort of action is involved. We must understand it as an appeal for brotherly solidarity, not violence and protest," Tormo said.

He added that Radical Democracy agrees with raising the level of the dialogue. "We must treat our adversaries well, but they must do likewise. Radicalism, which we represent, has always given very tangible demonstrations of proper, gentlemanly treatment. No one can deny that."

"Now then, as far as social policy is concerned, Radicalism took its stand in 1906, saying no to a Marxist, communist or communitarian economy. There can be no social policy without individual freedom. Lastly, it is my understanding that the government has not denied any Chilean a role in achieving the common good. This is what the CODERES and the CODECOS [Community Development Councils], where the private sector will be widely involved, have been created for," Jaime Tormo stated.

Restoring Democracy

Finally, Socialist (Nunez Socialist Party) leader Heraldo Munoz said that "we warmly welcome the bishops' appeal to move into action towards reconciliation."

"In this regard, we see a need to hold free elections and to stage a peaceful mobilization to achieve them. As Socialists we are going to embrace this appeal for reconciliation, which coincides with our actions to restore democracy.

"As far as discrediting is concerned, we believe that the government is doing the discrediting, inasmuch as it does not accept the ideas that the opposition has sensibly proposed to it, carrying out only its own plans without caring about the will of the people. It is the government that must echo the bishops' appeal in this regard," Herardo Munoz stated.

Meaning of Reconciliation Reviewed

Santiago MENSAJE in Spanish Jun 1987 pp 187-190

[Editorial:"What Reconciliation Are We Talking About?"]

[Excerpts] A real national reconciliation was experienced during the pope's visit, tensions and incidents notwithstanding. It was without doubt a "visit from God," as it was called. But what has happened in society at large? The core of his message, his appeal for reconciliation, seems to have gone for naught. Ill will? Not necessarily. Rather, the inability to accept God's word. The turmoil of the pope's visit was for many like the seed of the Gospel that fell amid the rocks. It sprouted but, since it could not sink roots, soon dried up. Nevertheless, the Gospel continues to beseech us: "If in presenting your offering at the altar, you remember that someone has something against you, leave your offering there before the altar and go first and reconcile yourself with your brother. Then return and present your offering" (Matthew, 5, 23).

The reconciliation that the pope urged from us had an important personal impact on many. But did it go further? Decisive steps towards true reconciliation are nowhere to be seen on the national level. The reconciliation to which we are summoned is not just any reconciliation. When national reconciliation is involved, an individual conversion and individual good will are not enough. True conversion, based on inner feelings, has social and structural implications, the absence of which raises doubts as to whether a true conversion really exists.

A New Spirit?

After the pope's visit, many wanted to take real steps towards true reconciliation. Many did not, regrettably, and have stuck to their aggressive approach of "not compromising" and even of preparing to defeat others by excluding them and imposing their own plans. The government is not showing a spirit of reconciliation when it insists on imposing a constitution that the country does not accept and that is a source of the major conflicts that we are experiencing. Likewise, there is no spirit of reconciliation among the opposition sectors that want to throw everything overboard and simply "turn the tables."

There are people in government who are of good will and who really want to proceed towards reconciliation. They are sincere. And they insist that accusing the government of intransigence or of not wanting reconciliation is unjust and offensive. They point to the many specific steps that have been taken: the end to some special powers that the CNI [National Information Center] had, the return of so many exiles, the gestures towards a rapprochement with the church, the reopening of voter registration, the greater freedom of expression.

Positive steps, it is true. But entirely inadequate. Because the country's problem is not this or that point, a few more or a few less concessions. The problem in Chile is structural and is pushing the nation towards mounting violence. The central problem is the lack of real freedom and participation. What good is broader freedom of expression when the major mass media are still monopolized by the government, when those who voice dissenting opinions are still punished and when even more coercive legislation is being prepared for the media? What good is opening voter registration when the country is still not allowed a genuine election on what really matters? What good are individual gestures when a substantive reconciliation is really not being sought and when everything is being manipulated to deviously legitimize the current state of affairs, which represents anything but reconciliation?

When the government does not wish to even receive and speak with the country's most representative sectors (professionals, trade unions, workers, young people, political parties, bishops), what sense do isolated gestures of reconciliation make, such as decorations or pretty words or invocations of the "Christian spirit" of concord? If the "new spirit" that the pope's visit left us does not unfold institutionally and pave the way for true reconciliation, it could soon vanish, like a soap bubble. However, we Christians must not let up in our effort to embrace this appeal "for real" and to attempt a true reconciliation for our homeland.

A Conditioned Reconciliation

After a war, a civil war or one between nations, there is usually a call for reconciliation to heal wounds and reestablish coexistence. This has happened in so many countries, in Europe and between our Latin nations. It also happened domestically here after 1891 and 1931. Political programs of national unity are usually undertaken to make society governable and to recover.

Nevertheless, such national reconciliations have often entailed demands that certain sectors, always the weakest ones, renounce major social demands for the sake of law and order and social peace. Furthermore, if a "reconciliation" meant renouncing justice and having to accept an unjust social order, it would no longer be clear that a "Christian spirit" could be invoked accordingly. For example, many are right not to accept a reconciliation that means "wiping the slate clean" on enormous crimes that have besmirched our country. Nor could a reconciliation be called Christian, even if the name of God is invoked, if it entailed renouncing the just grievances of the neediest. Therefore, not any reconciliation program can,

ipso facto, be regarded as Christian in spirit; only one that truly helps to restore the sort of social peace that, as the Bible says and the pope reminded us, "is the fruit of justice." The pope himself invited us in Santiago "to build peace by creating the necessary conditions to renew hearts and reform unjust structures."

We must not think, furthermore, that the national reconciliation that this Christian spirit calls for will end conflicts and enable us to finally live in peace. Conflicts of every sort will never disappear from human existence! The important thing is not to sidestep them but to define the ways in which and the bounds within which they must be resolved, and to possess the peaceful state of mind to do so. Unless there are institutional channels to resolve disagreements, unless there is a parliament, and justice and freedom of expression, how are differences of opinion to be overcome so that we can continue coexisting?

Thus, this "spirit of reconciliation" must come in the form of political and social structures that will make it effective and facilitate solutions to the understandable conflicts that will always exist. If the spirit is Christian, its fruits will also be. Otherwise, reconciliation could come at the expense of the poor and would thus not be Christian, or real.

Can we reconcile as a country, group with group, rich with poor? In an always difficult but always possible process, how can we accept our past as a nation, the past of Christian Democracy, Popular Unity, the military, and reconcile, so that together we can take charge of our future? "What is impossible for man is possible for God..." But let us not forget that God acts through us. The government must not continue attacking and punishing those who do not think as it does, with its "fixation" on 1973, dividing Chileans, fomenting ill will and seriously distorting the truth. Nor can the country allow itself to be dragged along this path of confrontation, which seeks to sweep aside compromise and to polarize in the suicidal delusion of always winning. We are already moving towards a simple problem of survival as a nation. In spite of our weaknesses, shouldn't we Christians join hands with all men and women of good will to attempt "the impossible," national reconciliation? The Lord, who "works miracles," could accomplish it through us. His mercy has already succeeded in joining the chosen people with "the heathens." "Christ is our peace; he made the two peoples one, destroying in his own body the wall of hatred that separated them" (Ephesians, 2, 14).

MENSAJE, 18 May 1987

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GOALS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION SECTORS DISCUSSED

Economic Development

Bogota CROMOS in Spanish 26 May 87 pp 34-36

[Interview with Minister of Economic Development Fuad Char by Pilar Lozano and Patricia Ardila; date and place not given]

[Text] He is a tireless worker from Monday to Friday, including holidays when necessary. He plays baseball on Saturday to stay in shape and has a regular seat at the Barranquilla Metropolitan Stadium from which to cheer the Junior Team on Sundays--his team literally, as well as in his heart. He is an administrator, a successful merchant, and until a short time ago, was governor of Atlantico, with the blessing of all his fellow countrymen except for the traditional bosses who thought of the department as their untouchable fiefdom. This was the case until, carrot and stick in hand, President Barco decided to appoint Fuad Char minister of development, thus recognizing his work as a governor, and at the same time preparing the ground for putting an end to the squabbles among the leaders of the liberal party in Atlantico, with a view to the popular mayoral elections.

Concrete Ideas

A resident of a Barranquilla family from Lorica, one of the first generation of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants to come to the department of Cordoba to settle in the 1920s, Fuad Char is a singular resident of the coast. He speaks in a low, carefully modulated voice, almost without accent. And although he has only been in his new post for a few days, he has a very specific idea of what he will do there, within the framework of the development plan drafted by the Barco administration for the 4-year period.

[Question] Mr Minister, you studied a little chemical engineering and a little law. However, your knowledge in the field of economics comes more from your extensive experience as a merchant and administrator. What effect is this going to have on the management of the country's development?

[Answer, with a little laugh] Well, indeed. I have set 2 basic goals for myself within the general context of the work which is the responsibility of my ministry. However, I want to say first that this ministry reviews, directs

and coordinates the work of many bodies and corporations which have to do with various sectors of the national economy and are very well organized and directed. The supervision of these institutions does not worry me greatly, but I will try to contribute my commercial and industrial experience, and above all my common sense, to their administration as president of their boards of directors.

Now then, there are two tasks which, as minister of development, I regard as primary. The first has to do with the urban development program to eradicate absolute poverty, in which I have experience, because I took personal charge of it as governor of Atlantico. It involves everything pertaining to the rehabilitation of subnormal settlements. Here I want to play the role of a coordinator, and I will devote the greater part of my time and my effort to this. The other aspect in which I hope to be most effective is the establishment of new industries in the country. In this field too I have excellent personal experience, above all where installation, administration, marketing and sales are concerned. This is the other activity to which I will devote much concern--the development of new industries and the promotion of exports. It is necessary to analyze how it is possible to work with private investors, both domestic and foreign, who might want to affiliate with enterprises working toward increasing exports and generating jobs.

[Question] This ministry basically has the responsibility for promoting industrial development and the foreign sector of the economy. At the same time, you stress the need to give priority to urban development with a view to eliminating absolute poverty. Don't you believe that unless parallel emphasis is placed on the development of agriculture, to encourage the peasants to remain in the rural sector, the urban problems of too few jobs and inadequate infrastructures for the migrants can never be resolved?

[Answer] Certainly. The urban development program includes precisely coordination with the rehabilitation programs the government is developing and the programs for promoting agriculture being implemented by the ministry in that sector. Without the strengthening of farm activities, no effort made in the realm of urban development can ever succeed. These are two parallel processes--rehabilitation of the rural sector and upgrading of the subnormal settlements in the urban zones.

Agroindustry in Its Infancy

[Question] To go into a little more detail about the polarization between the rural and urban sectors, or between agriculture and industry, what potential do you see for agroindustry, as a sector which can serve as a marker of the development of the country?

[Answer] There is a potential here. The problem is that where the development of agroindustry is concerned, we are just beginning, and we are also still "in diapers" when it comes to the development of our agricultural sector. But I am persuaded that there is a need to support projects of this sort, basically to contribute to the strengthening of the export sector, because exports other than coffee must be stressed. We must take advantage of our free industrial zones in this connection, for example, to invite foreign

investors to affiliate there with new industries, thus achieving two goals. We will make the import of certain products unnecessary and we will encourage the export of others, above all to the other countries in America and the Caribbean. The free zones are a development mechanism which could be utilized much more extensively, and here Colombia enjoys very advantageous conditions as compared to other countries in the area. This is a very important vein which can be tapped to develop jobs and foreign exchange income.

Elimination of Obstacles

[Question] And what is the strategy for attracting foreign investors? What conditions or advantages would the government be prepared to offer to those who decide to invest in this country, with the assurance that this will really result in national development?

[Answer] I believe that there is a need for an information campaign oriented toward foreign investors, for the purpose of persuading them to establish themselves in our free zone. This can be done by giving them guarantees, offering services and a whole series of things they take into account in making investment decisions. Here the "Efficient Colombia" program, which President Barco has stressed heavily, can play an important role. The Ministry of Economic Development, as the coordinating body, is working on this. Moreover, the president wants to make this program a law of the republic. We must seek to develop efficiency in all of the state bodies which have to do both with the citizenry and with private investors, in order to eliminate obstacles and tedious procedures.

[Question] In conclusion, Mr Minister, two brief questions. Which do you like better, administration or politics?

[Answer] I know a little bit about administration, but nothing of politics.

[Question] If in a psychological test you were asked to choose among the words "governor," "minister" and "mayor," what would your choice be?

[Answer] Let's see. I wanted to be a mayor.

[Question] You did?

[Answer] Yes. I wanted to be mayor of Barranquilla and they made me a governor. Now I am a minister.

Educational Reform

Bogota CROMOS in Spanish 26 May 87 pp 36-37

[Interview with Minister of Education Antonio Yepes by Pilar Lozano and Patricia Ardila; date and place not given]

[Text] Like a good countryman, Antonio Yepes is a simple, spontaneous and talkative man. The first impression he gives is that of an enterprising worker, always in shirtsleeves, who dislikes protocol and formality.

He went to bed one Sunday as governor of Antioquia, and the next day found himself at the Narino Palace being sworn in as the new minister of education. Many believed that this was a political ploy to ward off the crisis the department is experiencing.

And while everyone was wondering what his replacement would be like, scattered in among the reports in the Medellin newspapers were statements by leaders among the teachers and professors in Antioquia expressing their approval of the individual chosen by the government to take up the reins in the national educational sector.

The fact is that although he is a physician, the new minister has had a long career in the educational field.

"My basic activity has been as a university professor. I am at present a professor on leave from the University of Antioquia," he says with pride. A summary of his career also shows stints in the rectory and vicerectory of this higher educational institution.

[Question] Mr Minister, in view of your experience in the higher educational sector, should we expect that your efforts will be focused on that field?

[Answer] It is necessary to consider the educational sector overall. We will continue the campaign to eliminate illiteracy and the post-literacy effort. Work is needed in the preschool sector and in expanding the coverage of basic rural education. The secondary sector needs to be diversified and middle-level technological training stimulated. In the realm of higher education, I advocate encouraging the public universities and a new orientation for vocational education. Currently there is a quality crisis.

[Question] Does this strengthening of public education mean an increase in the budget?

[Answer] This sector must be strengthened through the budget and also reorganized. Currently a very interesting reorganization is being pursued at the University of Antioquia, with the participation of professors and students. This is rather difficult, since the students have left the formal organizations to create informal and even clandestine ones.

[Question] And how do you plan to handle this student problem?

[Answer] Above all by understanding the young people. If they rebel and lose their faith in the institutions and the norms, it means that to start with, the institutions and the norms failed to merit their faith. The rebels, therefore, may be right.

[Question] Would you then be an understanding, rather than heavy-handed, minister? Will you not support the militarization of the universities?

[Answer] As a university official I must act thus, understandingly. Nothing, much less the problems of youth, can be resolved by force. It is necessary to listen to young people and to guide them on the basis of clear norms.

[Question] The outgoing minister was proud that during her ministerial term, there was not one teachers' strike. Do you hope for a similar record?

[Answer] The outgoing minister managed relations with the FECODE well, with clear and continuing dialogue. This is the policy which must be pursued. I plan to continue with the task she initiated in the realm of social benefits for the teachers. This is a very serious problem, involving social justice. It is not fair that an individual who has served the nation all his life in work as difficult as that in the educational sector would not be granted a pension. Currently, 50 billion pesos are owed in this connection.

[Question] Another of the ongoing problems of this ministry is the political aspect. It is a secret to no one that posts in this sector are allocated on a political basis. Do you plan to take politics out of the ministry? Is it possible to do so?

[Answer] I pursued this policy in the government of Antioquia and it involved me in a series of conflicts. Considered within the government-opposition context, we have a government party which is offering the other parties every guarantee. My policy will be based on the belief that whoever is functional, whoever carries out his duties, whatever his political affiliation, will merit his post. It fell to me in Antioquia to take over a government in which 100 conservatives had been dismissed in a single day. My administration was characterized by opposition to this policy.

[Question] Don't you fear that your plan to remove politics from the ministry will bring you problems again? Aren't you afraid of the pressure?

[Answer] I come to this ministry with a little bit of experience in pressure. I do not plan to yield. I did not yield in the state government, and I will not change now. I give credence to dialogue, not to pressure. I think that administrative career/status is one of the urgent needs of this country, so that a government post will not depend on the will of a superior. In this regard, I will be very clear.

Only one thing saddens the new minister--the separation from his two adolescent children, who are in the fourth and fifth years of their baccalaureate studies. "The children and I and my wife, Luz Marina Correa, who is a dentist, are a very united family. In my free time I play chess and pingpong with them. We are good friends. They will be missing a friend."

We asked the minister a last question.

[Question] Are you more of a technician or a politician?

[Answer] The two cannot be separated. In acting, a technician must have a political criterion. A pure technician may be left hanging. A politician without a technical criterion may sink to petty politicking. Well, based on my work record, I might be a little more of a technician than a politician.

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CSO:3348/335

CHANGES IN UNEMPLOYMENT FUND SYSTEM CONTEMPLATED

Bogota SEMANA in Spanish 19 May 87 pp 28-29

[Text] For several decades, the question of the unemployment system has been, in discussions between workers and employers, something like sex in parlor conversations in not very distant eras--a taboo subject. Anyone bringing it up immediately awakens misgivings in the other parties, and the possibility of pursuing a discussion on the subject disappears. And this is not only, as some believe, because the workers are afraid of the subject. It is also because the employers, who traditionally mistrust proposed reforms simply out of fear of the unknown, have taken fright.

To this extent, it is a risky challenge the government has just taken up in suggesting to the National Labor Council, where the businessmen and workers have been talking of everything but this, the possibility not of revising the unemployment system but rather offering an alternative which is attractive to both parties. In a few words, the idea is that a worker can, if he so desires, reject the current system in favor of one offering many advantages, but in which the specters which terrify the businessmen most--retroactivity and double retroactivity for unemployment compensation--would not be included.

This alternative system (which no employee would be required to accept) involves basically the payment by the employer of a monthly sum equivalent to 10 percent of the worker's wages into a savings account. The worker would be the account holder, but he could only use the money for the purpose of investing in housing or when he becomes unemployed.

A Bird in the Hand

For a clearer understanding of the government proposal, one might imagine a worker earning 100,000 pesos in wages monthly, who after working at an enterprise under the traditional unemployment system for 5 years asks his employer to apply the alternative system. First of all, they need to decide how the 5 years of unemployment compensation already accumulated, which totals 500,000 pesos (100,000 for each year worked, because of the retroactive clause) will be paid. According to the governmental proposal, the employer may pay this sum or continue to owe it to the worker, whichever he prefers. If he chooses the first option, this sum would go to swell the savings account which would be used under the new system. If he decides to continue to owe

this money to his employee, he can pay it when the latter retires, but with the provision that he will have to pay him on the basis of the wage that the employee is earning at that time. Thus if he makes payment when the worker is earning 120,000 pesos, that sum will be multiplied by five to yield the equivalent of the 5 years of unemployment compensation accumulated under the old system.

Once these considerations have been decided, the new system goes into effect. The employer then begins to pay a sum equivalent to 10 percent of the employee's wages, in this case 10,000 pesos, into the employee's savings account. This account immediately begins to earn interest month by month. With interest at 3 percent per month, the worker would have 10,300 pesos at the end of the first month. A month later he would have in his account the 10,300 pesos accumulated, plus the 10,000 for the second month, and then the additional 3 percent interest, or 20,600 pesos, and so on, successively.

At this point, two advantages can be clearly seen. The first is that the compensation fund grows by 10 percent of the wage each month, while under the old system only 8.33 percent per month was added, representing a supplement equivalent to a twelfth of the yearly wage. The second advantage has to do with the interest. While under the old system the interest was 12 percent annually, paid once a year, now, with the interest of 3 percent per month paid monthly, the total may reach up to 40 percent per year.

But without a doubt the greatest advantage lies in the fact that the worker can check on the deposits his employer makes to his account, such that he will not suffer a loss in the event the enterprise goes out of business. At the present time, when a worker has been employed for a considerable number of years and then becomes unemployed, it often happens that when the time comes to pay unemployment compensation, the employer asks him to "negotiate," arguing that if the worker demands that the whole of the sum be paid, it will have to involve a labor law trial, which could well take 1, 2 or even 3 years. Under the new system, the worker knows that as soon as he is unemployed, he can have access to his funds, without paperwork or anything of the sort.

Finally, the advocates of the new system insist that it could cover a much broader group of workers. The current system is only applicable to workers who receive a fixed monthly wage, and in many cases it does not cover those who are regularly paid honorariums by a given enterprise. With the new plan, all of these workers would be covered. For example, construction workers could ask to be covered by the alternative system, without regard to the duration of their contracts. Something similar will happen with teachers in the private sector, who are usually hired on contract for the period of a year, thus in many cases losing the right to accumulate unemployment compensation. This point will doubtless be among those which will give the employers greatest pause, since they will ultimately be required to hire workers on contract for fixed periods or on the temporary employment system.

Defensive Attitude

One of the government's main arguments in defense of the proposal is that it would serve the purpose of generating jobs. In fact, it is presumed that the

money deposited by the employers in the savings accounts of their workers will have specific purposes--housing for the employees or loans to businessmen for projects which clearly generate jobs. Although this last aspect still remains to be defined, it is estimated that with the new unemployment compensation mechanism, about 50 billion pesos per year will be brought into the financial system, and this sum could be used for investments to create job opportunities.

Another contribution to the resolution of the unemployment problem, or at least to alleviating it, results from the fact that apart from the 10 percent per month which the employer must deposit to the employee's savings account, he will be required to pay out another 3 percent for national unemployment insurance. This concept echoes a proposal by the preceding minister of labor, Jose Name, which at the time created a controversy among the trade unions. But the government is confident that if included in a package which in some way resolves the unemployment compensation issue, it will be welcomed on the employers' side.

Obviously the government, and those who have been working on the issue in particular, for example the presidential adviser on social development, Ernesto Rojas Morales, know that the first thing which needs to be done is to break the ice which has frozen the discussions throughout all these years. "We are aware," Rojas has commented, "that there is a defensive attitude. Eleven proposals on this issue have been presented to the Congress in recent legislative sessions, all designed to do away with the retroactive aspect of unemployment compensation, and they have all foundered. This time, the workers may believe that it is a proposal with a similar purpose, but that is not true."

This defensive atmosphere could be seen just a few hours after the memorandum submitted to the Labor Council by Minister Diego Younes was made known. Headlines reflecting the general skepticism could be seen on the front pages of the newspapers. But toward the end of the week, both the trade unions and the business associations seemed to have opted for moderate positions. There was every indication that they had decided to study the memorandum carefully before criticizing it. The time for discussion will begin in 2 weeks, when the council meets again, and the two sides come to the table with their proposals concerning the government initiative under their arms. Perhaps by then the subject will have ceased to be taboo and the parties will finally settle down to discuss it, although this does not necessarily mean that they will reach agreement.

5157

CSO:3340/334

FOREIGN DEBT SERVICE EXERTS PRESSURE ON TREASURY

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 8 May 87 pp 1A, 6B

[Article by Jose Fernando Lopez]

[Text] The General Treasury of the Republic still had a favorable balance as of the end of the month of April, but the foreign debt service continues to exert excessive pressure on state resources, according to the most recent report of that body.

While general government expenditures for the first third of the year were up 36 percent over the comparable period the preceding year, amortization payments on foreign obligations showed an increase of 71 percent.

However, at the end of the month of April, the Treasury showed a surplus of 80,344,000,000 pesos. And while this surplus is 9,244,000,000 pesos less than that seen in March, the total available Treasury assets still exceed 130 billion, including the foreign loans paid out but not used which are on deposit in the Bank of the Republic.

In April, the Treasury took in 69,913,000,000 pesos in current income and credit resources. In the first 4 months of the year, it took in a total of 241,356,000,000 pesos, 45 percent more than was collected in the comparable period last year.

Total payments, including current expenditures (operational) and investment expenditures, on the other hand, totaled 270,592,000,000 pesos. Apart from this, the government made net payments to amortize the foreign debt of 36,363,000,000 pesos, and net payments to amortize the domestic debt of 520 million. In other words, it had to pay out a total of 307,475,000,000 in the first 4 months.

The difference between collections and total expenditures, then, was 66,120,000,000 pesos, covered in part out of available resources in the Treasury fund at the end of last year, which totaled 122,120,000,000 pesos.

As of 30 April, the cash available in the fund thus totaled 55,998,000,000 pesos (less than half).

Increased Investments

One of the most outstanding features of Treasury operations thus far this year is the substantial increase seen in investment expenditure payments.

As of 30 April 1986, 40,683,000,000 pesos had been paid out in this category, while the payments in the first third of this year came to 67,656,000,000 pesos, representing an increase of 66 percent.

Current payments were up only 36 percent in a comparison of the same periods. This figure included the slow increase in general expenditures (11 percent) and in payments for personal services (21.3 percent).

On the other hand, the foreign debt continued to be the factor exerting the greatest pressure on the resources of the state.

In the part of this year which has already elapsed, 40,122,000,000 pesos were paid out for amortizations and 25,865,000,000 were paid out in interest on the foreign debt. During the same period last year, the payments for these two purposes came to 23,402,000,000 pesos and 18,199,000,000, respectively.

This means that the burden which payments on its foreign obligations represent for the state, adding interest and amortization together, has increased by 60 percent in the period under consideration.

According to the last financial report from the Controller's Office, confirming the above, the debt "has become the most dynamic category in public expenditure in the past 3 years."

This is true to the extent that "While in 1982 and 1983, the cost of the foreign debt service represented only 12 percent and 14 percent of ordinary resources (i.e., the current income of the state, after discounting income for special purposes), there was a leap in 1984 to 22 percent, and then to 25 percent in 1985 and 26.5 percent in 1986."

And, according to the Controller's Office, there is an aggravating factor in that 40 percent of the ordinary resources expected for 1987 are committed to the foreign debt service, "and it is calculated that this figure still does not include all of the commitments on which payments are due during the year."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the three former presidents of Colombia signed the documents they did.

5157

CSO:3340/334

NEARLY HALF OF POPULATION REPORTED IN ABJECT POVERTY

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 9 May 87 p 15A

[Article by Ricardo Luna Cano]

[Text] Thirteen million Colombians (45 percent of the total population) live in absolute poverty, the head of the National Statistics Department (DANE), Alfonso Gonzalez Caro, reported, during an explanation of the basic parameters used in establishing the poverty index that institution is drafting.

Poverty conditions prevail for 6 million persons, representing a fifth of the inhabitants of our country. The government is completing the details on the poverty maps, which will graphically show the location and degree of poverty being experienced by Colombian citizens throughout the length and breadth of our national territory.

The DANE, employing methods used in other countries, selected five variables as the basic essentials for establishing the degree of indigence of Colombian residents. The information which was processed was collected during the population census taken in 1985.

Thus a considerable number of individuals were classified as abjectly poor, lacking satisfaction of any of the five basic needs. Colombian citizens whose life situations involve lack of satisfaction of two or more basic needs were classified as poor.

Basic Needs

The head of the National Statistics Department describe the basic needs taken into account in classifying the population as follows:

--Quality of housing, derived from wall and floor construction. Housing with walls made of degradable materials or with earthen floors were classified as inadequate.

--Critical crowding. This term was defined as housing with three or more residents per room.

--Employment. Those families with a high level of economic dependence on a head of the household, who at the time of the census earned less than two minimum wages, had no education beyond second grade and was responsible for three or more persons, were classified as poor.

--Education. In defining socioeconomic status on the basis of this parameter, those households in which there were one or more children over 7 years of age, related to the head of the household and not attending school were classified as abjectly poor.

--Public services. For the purposes of this indicator, families whose housing has no drinking water or proper sewage system were classified as poor. (In urban areas, the lack of one of these items sufficed, while in the rural sector both had to be lacking).

When the data had been processed, the DANE reached the preliminary conclusion that 29 million of the Colombians counted in the population census in 1985, or about 45 percent, live in conditions of absolute poverty, while 20 percent more are poor.

Gonzalez Caro explained that seven of these 13 million live in the rural sector and the other six million are located in the large cities in particular. Bogota has a million people living in abject poverty.

5157

CS0:3340/334

IMBALANCE IN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH DEPLORED

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 16 May 87 p 12 A

[Article by Gloria Vallejo]

[Text] Cartagena, 15 May--The national economy is proceeding dangerously along the path of concentration of wealth, Ernesto Samper Pizano maintained. He stated that according to UN statistics, Colombia is among the 10 countries in the world with the worst distribution of assets.

The president of the National Liberal leadership said in a message sent to the FEDELONJAS congress being held in this city, at which the subject of urban reform with regard to private property is being discussed, that its social function is not the issue. The crux of the polemic lies in the "social ownership of assets."

Warning that from economic concentration to political authoritarianism, it is but one step, Samper noted the concentration of wealth in the companies registered on the stock market, in coffee exports, in real estate, in the savings and housing corporations, and in the media.

He emphasized the importance of a process of greater democratization, which poses a much more important challenge than the timeworn dilemmas of private or state ownership, private enterprise or government intervention.

"What good does it do us to have a gigantic state, for example, if all of its subsidy capacity is oriented toward a limited sector of businessmen who control the reins of power, enabling them to maintain the system of socializing losses and keeping profits private, which has been developing so dangerously in recent years?" This question was asked by the liberal leader, who urged the development of new rules of the game to allow a more equitable distribution of property, in order to effect a transition from a private economy to one of solidarity, in which the cooperatives, employees' funds and associations with access to the means of production will be multiplied.

Constitution Guarantees Private Ownership

Conservative Senator Daniel Mazuera Gomez, for his part, defended the right to private ownership, warning that on occasion there has been an effort to effect

a legal but improper extension of the authority of the state to interfere with this right, which is expressly expressly by the constitution.

He said that the proposed urban reform, like other earlier laws, has violated the spirit of the constitution, since public usefulness and social interest, cited as justifications, were ambiguously defined.

He asserted that if the proposal with this conceptual shortcoming is approved, "The state will in practice be authorized to expropriate urban property without any real and precise justification of public usefulness."

He rejected the proposition, implicit in the draft law, which makes it impossible for an owner of real property which is to be expropriated to benefit from the increased value resulting from changes in use or the execution of public projects.

Private Expropriation Opposed

The deputy elected to the Cundinamarca Assembly by the Patriotic Union, Jesus Anibal Montoya, in turn, challenged the proposal and opposed allowing private persons to expropriate.

He said that his political movement is against payment for expropriated land at commercial prices, a position he justified by saying that the increase in value in urban land is the result of the process of development, in which all of society participates. For this reason, he urged that the price be established on the basis of the fiscal property survey.

In his opinion, the government proposal does not contribute to bringing about the social reforms the country needs, and is not focused on a national development plan. He termed the portion pertaining to making procedures more efficient "redeemable."

He said that the UP will propose an urban reform plan establishing priorities for expropriation which take the size of plots into account, and he added that the proposal will pertain to plots of more than 5 hectares.

5157

CSO:3348/336

POVERTY PROBLEM ANALYZED IN AREA BREAKDOWN

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 17 May 87 p 1 A, 14 A

[Article by Jose Fernando Lopez]

[Text] A total of 5,672,000 Colombians are living in poverty. An additional 5,800,000 lack satisfaction of some of their basic needs. In all, about 12 million Colombian citizens out of the 26,570,000 reported as the 1985 census total can be regarded as poor.

A half of these live in the rural sector and the other half in the cities. However, in relative terms, 70 percent of the rural population lives in poverty, while in the cities, only 31 percent are in the most deprived group.

These results are the product of the first report of the Poverty Indicators Project, which has just been drafted by the DANE, following an intensive effort in which the UNICEF, a United Nations agency, the National Planning Department and the Ministry of Agriculture also participated.

This work, which was directed by Oscar Fresneda, involved the drafting of a "poverty map," which shows that the problem has characteristics which vary widely for the different regions of the country.

It shows, for example, that Choco is by far the poorest department in the country, and that there is least privation in the coffee-growing regions.

In Cordoba and Sucre, 70 percent of the citizens lack satisfaction of one or more of their basic needs. In Quindio, Risaralda and Caldas, only 30 percent of the population is in this position.

In relative terms, the poor in Bogota represent only 24 percent of the population. However, in absolute terms, the greatest concentration of the poor in the country is in the capital of the republic, with about a million citizens living in subhuman conditions.

Basic Needs

According to the head of the DANE, Alfonso Gonzalez Caro, the so-called "unsatisfied basic needs" method was used in the study. It involves the

selection of a series of indicators which express, in synthesis, the situation of the population as to satisfaction of their critical needs.

For this purpose, the 1985 census figures were used, and 5 indicators were defined. They are housing type, degree of crowding, availability and quality of services, number of persons dependent on the head of the household, and school attendance by the children (see section following last subheading).

"Since according to this study each of the indicators represents a basic need of a different type, a complex picture was drafted on the basis of these indicators, and any household in which at least 1 of the basic needs represented by an indicator was not being met was classified as poor."

"In addition, in order to differentiate between the levels of poverty, abject poverty was defined as the status of households lacking satisfaction of the basic needs represented by 2 or more of the indicators."

This final concept is the equivalent of "absolute poverty" and defines the population which is the focus of the government plans.

Where Are They?

According to the project completed by the DANE, there are only eight sectors of the country which are in a better position than the national average when it comes to unsatisfied needs. They are Bogota, Quindio, Risaralda, Caldas, Valle, Antioquia, San Andres and Atlantico, in that order.

"According to the study, these are the sectors with the highest level of urban development, the coffee-growing regions, and the intendancy of San Andres y Providencia, with special characteristics regarding most of the indicators."

Considering the municipal seats exclusively, the percentage of households in the country with their basic needs unsatisfied is 26 percent. Bogota and the capitals of Caldas, Quindio, Boyaca, Santander, Antioquia, Risaralda, Valle, Cundinamarca and Tolima fall below this level.

The municipal seats of Choco, Sucre and Orinoquia (Arauca, Casanare and Vichada) have the highest percentages of households with unsatisfied needs.

The situation in Choco is particularly dramatic, since there 67 percent of the urban households lack satisfaction of 1 or more of the basic needs mentioned.

The relative situation is very much worse in the rural sector. For the country as a whole, the percentage of poor households comes to 66 percent, but there are regions such as Sucre, Bolivar, Cordoba, Orinoquia and Choco where more than 80 percent of the households lack satisfaction of basic needs.

The Large Cities

In the large capital cities, the relative poverty level is lower than in the rest of the country. However, the largest concentrations of poverty are also to be found there.

In Bogota, Medellin, Cali and Barranquilla, 20 percent of the households lack satisfaction of 1 or more needs. Of these four, Barranquilla is the worst, with a poverty level of 30 percent, followed by Cali, with 22 percent; Bogota, with 18 percent; and Medellin, with 17 percent.

In absolute terms, again, the cities mentioned have more than 330,000 households in the poverty category. And of these, about 100,000 suffer from conditions of abject, or absolute, poverty.

Bogota in particular is the city with the highest "poverty density."

In the capital, according to the first report of the Indicators Project, "About 155,820 households in which basic needs are not met, including 36,920 in the abject poverty category, are concentrated within a few square kilometers."

Who Are They?

In order to more accurately identify the groups toward which the government programs will be oriented in its plan to combat poverty, the work done by the DANE established some of the more important characteristics of the population groups whose needs are not being met.

In a breakdown by age, 43.5 percent of the poor are under 15 years of age (2.6 percent under a year), 53 percent are in the so-called productive age category (between 15 and 64 years of age) and the other 3.5 percent are senior citizens.

The situation is particularly serious for children. "More than half of the children in the country (52 percent) are poor," according to the study.

"This figure confirms the priority this age group must have in the policies for eliminating poverty. To this quantitative aspect must be added the fact that the negative effects of poverty become more dangerous during pregnancy and the first 3 years of life."

Education and Poverty

Educational level is a variable factor closely related to the poverty level.

"For example, we find that the illiteracy rate is 22.2 percent among the poor and 5.7 percent among the population which is not poor."

Finally, according to the preliminary DANE report, "Poor households are characterized by larger size and more dependent family members."

Concerning all of these aspects, the work completed provides a great deal of information, which will without a doubt make it possible to "develop a more accurate description of poverty in Colombia."

Poverty Indicators

1. Inadequate housing. This indicator has to do with the physical characteristics of housing. In the municipal seats, mobile homes, natural sites or bridges, homes with exterior walls of cloth or lacking walls, and homes with dirt floors are included. The same conditions pertain to the rural sector, but where floor and wall materials are concerned, only those of semipermanent or perishable materials which also had dirt floors were included.

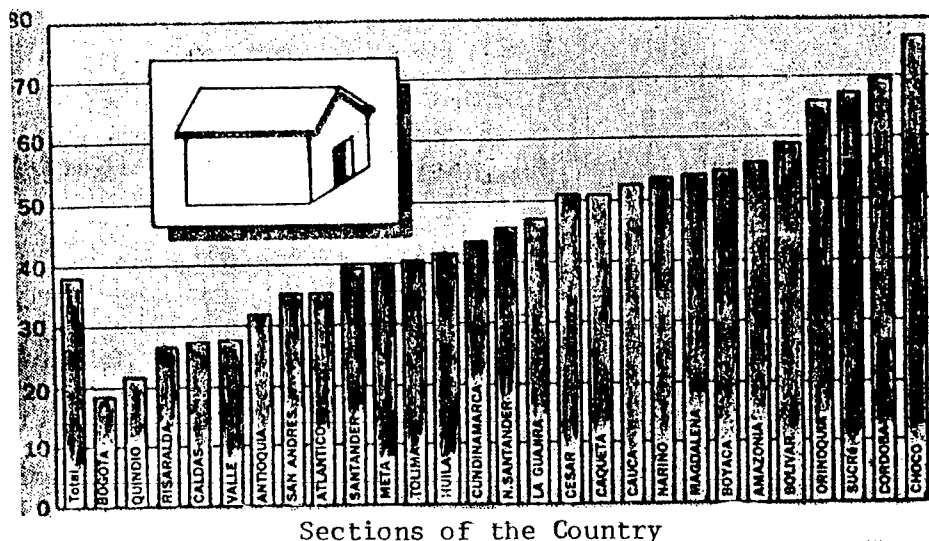
2. Critical crowding. Households with more than 3 persons per room (excluding kitchen, bathroom and garages) were classified as critically crowded.

3. Inadequate services. In the municipal seats, households lacking plumbing or which, lacking piped water, obtain their supply from river water, rainfall or tank trucks, were included. Elsewhere, given the conditions in the rural environment, the households included were those lacking plumbing and piped water and obtaining their supply from river water, springs, rainfall or tank trucks.

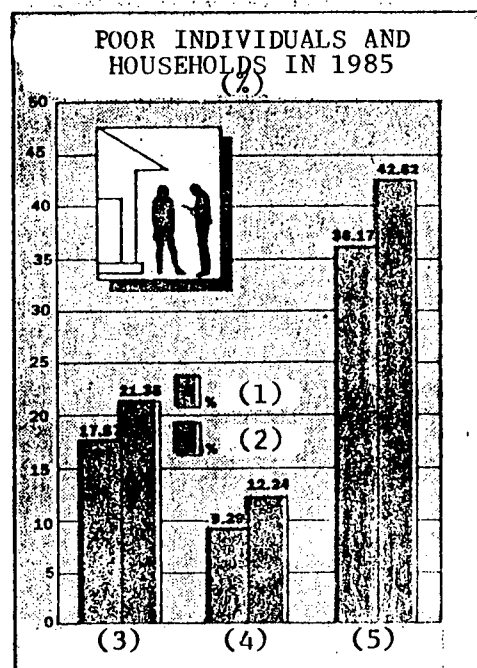
4. High level of dependence. Households including more than 3 persons per employed individual, and in which in addition the head of the household had no more than 2 years of primary education, were placed in this category.

5. Unenrolled school-age children. This category included households in which at least 1 child related to the head of the household and between 7 and 11 years of age was not attending a formal educational institution.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH UNSATISFIED BASIC NEED IN 1985
BY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY
(percentage of households)



Source: 1 percent sampling of 1985 Census.



Key:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Households | 3. National total |
| 2. Individuals | 4. Municipal seats |
| | 5. Other municipalities |

Source: 1 percent sampling of 1985 Census. Chart by Carlos Morales Publishing House.

5157

CS0: 3348/336

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BRIGADES REACTIVATED

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 2 Jun 87 pp 1-A, 3-A

[Text] A total of 30 intelligence brigades and networks provided with modern communications equipment and weaponry will be reactivated by the Judicial Police and Investigation Directorate (DIJIN), to combat subversion in the country intensively.

The plan will be implemented during the meeting of the F-2 commanders, to be opened today by the National Police director, Gen Jose Guillermo Medina Sanchez, in Bogota.

Col Orlando Pena Angarita, commander of DIJIN, tol EL TIEMPO: "We are attempting to increase the intelligence coverage in the country in order to neutralize common crimes, particularly the specter of subversion."

For this purpose, a modern computer will be installed in the new secret police headquarters in Bogota, which will store all the information on crime in the country, such as past and current arrest warrants, and files on subversion and drug trafficking.

The intelligence brigades and networks will be activated at times when the penetration of certain guerrilla groups has been detected in the urban area, backed by political movements, such as the case of M-19, with the notorious peace camps which operated in several of the country's cities, according to the police.

Colonel Pena Angarita announced that, at the meeting, an analysis would be made of the organization and operation of the secret police local groups subordinate to DIJIN in Bogota.

There will be a more thorough explanation and analysis of the features of a technical and procedural nature, to combine views and exchange opinions, as well as setting guidelines for work and control of the activities carried out, aimed at countering organized crime and delinquency.

In a study on the assessment of crime, to be presented at this meeting, Colonel Pena Angarita makes an in-depth analysis of crime in Colombia.

He places the impact of crime in four zones:

That of the Caribbean (Atlantico, Bolivar, Cesar, Cordoba, Guajira, Magdalena, and Sucre); that of the Pacific (Choco, Narino, Valle, and Cauca); the central zone (Boyaca, Caldas, Cundinamarca, Huila, Quindio, Norte de Santander, Risaralda, Tolima, and Bogota); and the eastern zone comprised of the departments of Caqueta and Meta, and Intendancies and Commissariats.

He shows that, during the period 1985-87, there was a rise in the drug traffic crime index, although the most frequently committed crime is simple larceny and specified larceny (robbery).

Extortion was carried out by subversive organizations with a monthly average of 34.83 percent in 1985, and of 35 percent in 1986.

The crime of kidnapping showed an average of 86.5 percent per month.

A total of 52 acts of terrorism were recorded in 1985.

Colonel Pena Angarita said that the foregoing statistics are not so terrifying when compared with the cases of prostitution, vagrancy, drug addiction, and homosexuality, which are being observed daily in the cities, caused by the destabilization of the home.

He stressed: "This type of aberration goes hand in hand with organized crime, which is committing murder, larceny, kidnapping, extortion, and white slavery."

He was of the opinion that the handling of the drug traffic has monopolized the country's interest, detracting importance from more atrocious crimes, such as kidnapping.

He disclosed that the subversives are continuing their effort to indoctrinate the alienated population, in order to foster acts of protest, such as civic strikes and mobilizations of peasants and Indians.

Colonel Pena concluded by noting that the subversives are seeking to radicalize and intensify their action, with attacks on oil facilities, for the purpose of causing harm to the state's economy and forcing the multinational companies to leave the country.

2909

CSO: 3348/349

FARC LEADER THREATENS END TO TRUCE

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 30 May 87 p 7-A

[Text] Bucaramanga, 29 May--"If the government does not remedy this situation, the end of the truce will come very soon."

This assertion was made by the commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia's (FARC) 24th front, at the marking of the third anniversary of that subversive cell.

The meeting was held in the town of Cagui, a jurisdiction of the municipality of San Pablo, in the extreme southern part of Bolivar.

The guerrilla leader pointed out that there had been no truce in Magdalena Medio. He described the incidents which occurred in mid-January in settlements in the San Lorenzo marshland, south of Bolivar; where regular forces attacked the town and caused serious damage which was later proven by a commission from the Attorney General's Office.

He made an assessment of the 3 years of guerrilla activity of that FARC front, noting that, "They were 36 months during which we have become politically reinforced."

He announced that they would continue to emphasize the promotion of the Patriotic Union as the FARC political organization. With regard to relations with the Army of National Liberation (ELN) in the southern part of Bolivar, he remarked that, "They are good and normal, and it is untrue that we keep fighting with each other."

He declared that ELN has traditionally operated in that area, as have the FARC, without any essential friction over the control of territory.

Tomas Lince announced that his guerrilla front supports the civic strike in the northeast to be held between 7 and 9 July; and justified that backing by the concern that has prompted them to protest against disrespect for human life.

He said that his group would foster the peasant population's participation in the popular election of mayors next year; commenting: "It is there that we

need the people to help individuals who are truly of the people to attain the administration of the government."

He charged that, in some instances, the mayors' offices won by Patriotic Union last year had as a legacy debts and squandering of public monies.

Lince, like his aide, Guillermo Gaviria, does not wear military garb, does not carry long-range weapons, and does not conceal his face either.

The guerrilla chief said that he does not believe in the rehabilitation councils because, he claimed, "We have not observed any operativeness in them; they are merely fallacies for distraction."

He denied that this organization is receiving military aid from Cuba or Nicaragua, and stressed that they have a sufficiently defined operational plan not to require that type of advice.

Lince admitted to having relatives as members of the FARC. He has had 8 years of experience in that movement, the last 3 as chief of the 24th front.

2909

CSO: 3348/349

ANTISUBVERSION RALLIES REPORTED IN LLANOS REGION

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 2 Jun 87 p 8-A

[Text] Arauca, 1 Jun--Despite the threats and psychological coercion from the guerrillas and the "Patriotic Union" [UP], the Liberals of the Llanos region have rejected the forces attempting to overthrow democracy and the life of institutions in the country.

And, in a clearcut demonstration of repudiation for the armed proselytism, the Liberals of Arauca, Tame, and Granada (Meta) had a massive presence at demonstrations in defense of democracy.

In the course of the Liberal reconquest of the Llanos Orientales [Eastern Plains] region, several party leaders, including the chairman of the National Directorate, Ernesto Samper Pizano, toured extensive parts of that zone last weekend, to ask the armed rebels to stop their campaigns of "psychological coercion, lottery ticket selling, and extortion" aimed against the party's militants.

The Liberal demonstrations originally occurred in Tame (Arauca), to hear the proposals of Samper Pizano, Senators Alfonso Latorre Gomez, member of the CPC and organizer of the event, and Horacio Serpa Uribe; as well as Representative Carlos Julio Gaitan Gonzalez, leader Sergio Pulgarin, and the town's liberal leaders, headed by Leonel Perez Bareno.

'No' to Subversion

Despite the obvious influence of UP, which has a mayor from its sector in Tame, at least some 2,000 persons showed up at the town's main park and, amid a high temperature, said "no" to the subversives' intentions.

During his remarks, Senator Serpa Uribe urged the subversives to return to democratic life, and noted that the Liberal Party has directed itself toward "the channels for a solution to the social anxieties of Colombians."

He identified Arauca's serious problems with those confronting Magdalena Medio, and asked the Liberals not to let down in their campaign in defense of democracy and the party's ideals.

Senator Latorre Gomez, for his part, recalled that the Liberal Party has been the standard-bearer of the battles on behalf of the national territories, and has also been in agreement on its summons to the guerrillas to lay down their arms and embark upon democratic channels.

In a forceful defense of democracy, Latorre Gomez declared that the Liberal Party must prepare suitably for the popular election of mayors that will take place in March of next year.

Samper Pizano, for his part, called upon the guerrillas to stop their campaign of intimidation and armed proselytism and, rather, to "sit down and talk, and, instead of firing their rifles, engage in promoting ideas."

And he added: "Revolutionary forces play their role better within the democratic system than by taking the path of arms. We are Liberals, and hence we propose peaceful political prescriptions for solving the serious problem involving arms."

In another part of his speech, Samper Pizano cited the position of the Conservatives, and asked them to put up a fair opposition, and to "be thoughtful and consistent" in adopting that measure.

Challenge to UP

Then the DNL [Liberal National Directorate] delegation went to Arauca and, at the Santiago Perez airport, there were over 5,000 Liberals participating in an endless march headed by 120 horseback riders, while the heat became more evident.

The presence of the Liberal leadership in the intendency was declared important, and coincided with a UP meeting at which that movement's leadership cadres were replaced and the first candidates were nominated for the popular election of mayors.

Samper emphasized the issue of peace, and asserted that those who think that the solution to the problem involving arms is to increase the state's repressive capacity or to radicalize political positions are mistaken; because the ones who fall in "the fire of the two extreme forces are the defenseless peasants of Llanos Orientales and the unarmed students in our large cities."

His other comments were: "We do not fear the democratic confrontation, for we know that when it is a matter of voting, right is on our side; because the Liberal Party is the party of the majorities, since we do not act using bullets, but rather, through votes, making the effort to guarantee democracy and our convictions.

"But with the same clarity, I call upon the guerrillas and UP to put an end to all types of psychological coercion, lottery ticket selling, extortion, or antidemocratic influencing of Colombians, and to allow them to vote freely."

Samper Pizano also mentioned the social polarization and political radicalization, the National Fronts, or the strong parties, as well as the need for institutionalizing the opposition, and violence and peace, insisting upon the cessation of armed proselytism.

The Situation in Ariari

In the municipality of Granada (Meta), the DNL chairman presided over another demonstration in support of democracy, but the irreconcilable position of the department's Liberal groups was evident at it.

Speaking during the demonstration were Roberto Garay Carrillo; Senators Alfonso Latorre Gomez, Horacio Serpa Uribe, and Hector Urrea;; Representatives Betty Camacho de Rangel and German Hernandez Aguilera; and leaders Alfonso Ortiz Bautista and Jesus Suarez Letrado; who agreed on condemning armed proselytism and all types of intimidation of the citizens, in an attempt to impose their propositions by force.

2909

CSO: 3348/349

CDR'S PINEDA VASALIO ON REASONS FOR POPULAR APATHY

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 10 Apr 87 pp 28-29

[Interview with Vicente Pineda Vasalio, national CDR vice-coordinator, by Janet Salva; date, time, and place not given]

[Text] One would assume that whenever there is a neighborhood meeting, whether for submitting reports, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), or the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), we are interested in finding out what will happen there. Yet we must knock on so many doors to call our neighbors to the meeting! Apathy? A lack of interest or stimulation? We talked about this and other matters with Vicente Pineda Vasalio, national CDR vice-coordinator.

He says that since the CDR 3rd Congress, and Fidel's appeal to bring about the rebirth of the organization, it has adopted measures to attain that primary objective.

"We have observed something that is no secret to anyone: the political and ideological work at the local level has declined, which may lead to a lack of interest," he says.

"There is a reason for that: formalism, routine, and the administrative nature of many of the tasks we carry out are reflected in the attitude and behavior of our local organizations. The efforts to support state institutions have also had an influence, because on many occasions the latter's work is supplanted in practice as we forget that our role is to educate the masses in the fulfillment of these tasks, not to do administrative work ourselves. The fact that unauthorized committees are formed also contributes to the propensity to hold meetings, as do other factors that have somewhat distorted the *raison d'etre* of the CDR."

[Question] So your work has gotten off track a little, diverging from the role you are really supposed to play?

[Answer] That's right. Our fundamental duty should be the education and training of the new generations, nipping their behavioral problems in the bud, providing timely guidance, and seeking formulas and methods to encourage our members to reflect on the problems and contribute to solving them.

[Question] To what do you attribute these deficiencies?

[Answer] To several aspects. The CDR have always been combative. In the beginning they were not so well organized, but they did away with the counterrevolution and the parasitic elements of those early days. They "cut them off at the pass," as we used to say in those days, without the beautiful rhetoric we have learned in recent times. We were more energetic, more specific when it came to reprimanding people. We worked harder and in unison.

[Question] But the circumstances aren't the same; it is not a matter of copying what was done in the beginning. Isn't that right?

[Answer] Of course, but we do need to have a more combative attitude with regard to the new problems that affect us, which are much more complicated because they are inside us: formalism, cronyism, erroneous ideas, the lack of boldness, outright mistakes, complacency, . . . and for that reason we must urge people to reflect and channel our efforts in that direction.

[Question] You mentioned formalism. Do you include in that term the low quality of many assemblies, the ones that are held just to carry out that part of the working plan?

[Answer] That does have an influence, a great one. People have gotten used to formal meetings, to routine, to improvisation. We all know that in the last few years, the assemblies have generally been characterized by the huge number of things that must be oriented--so many that no one can consider them rationally or accomplish all of them. As a result, everything is approved without analysis; people applaud and the meeting is closed, because everyone wants to go home.

[Question] What mechanisms have you devised to bring about the rebirth of the organization and to enter, if you will, the rectification process that is taking place all over the country?

[Answer] In November 1986 we had each block discuss an alert, the idea being to establish a firmer, more militant position in the face of the apathy and passiveness of many comrades. We needed to discuss the situation with the revolutionaries who did not do their guard duty, to pay attention to young people who were having school or behavioral problems or were not studying or working, and to find the most appropriate solutions. We had to decide what to do if there was an antisocial, how to work with him, and above all, how to help him solve his problem. The outcome did not surprise us: When the meetings were given a formal procedure, they did not have any repercussion.

[Question] You speak of problem youths, but in many cases, the ones to blame are the parents who do not pay attention to their children, and the children stray because they do not always choose their friends well. In a word, these are our own children.

[Answer] And that is how we define the situation, because when we analyze these young people, it is true that they are our own children; we have simply

allowed them to do whatever they want, or we have misunderstood our obligations and thought that pleasing them and allowing them to do everything was the best way to be parents. That is why we are calling upon revolutionaries, first of all, to set a good example and to help whoever needs help.

Others do pay attention to their families, to their children, but they do not have a combative position outside the home; they dig into their family trench and their job, they go to the meetings and they know there are problems on the block, but they can do nothing to prevent or eliminate these problems. Sure, that would be "looking for trouble," but that is how we get out of the habit of criticism and timely guidance.

[Question] What does April have in store for the CDR?

[Answer] This month we are carrying out the assessment of the organization at the local level, but this will not involve lengthy reports or red tape, nor will people be wasting their time on trivial matters. The key issue is to discuss specific problems. In addition, it should serve to replace some leader who for some reason cannot continue.

[Question] How do you define, in general terms, the political and ideological work of the CDR? How can it be put into practice?

[Answer] It must be focused on the rank and file: stepping up vigilance (which is not just standing guard, of course, but the attitude toward everything that is poorly done), boosting creativity, and confronting and solving problems, including the conduct of revolutionaries. Because so far what has been emphasized is the formal aspect, the external trappings of political and ideological work, like a cultural or recreational activity in a diary, updating the mural, . . . unfortunately, that is the angle we have seen.

In the case of the CDR, the political and ideological work should be manifested in daily tasks. It should be noted that it is the CDR and the FMC that must follow up on the work of the Party; they are in the community, on the block, they are there when people get off work or get out of school.

Political and ideological work is not abstract; it can be pinpointed: struggling to change bad attitudes, to cultivate people's virtues, as Fidel has proposed on various occasions, seeking specific solutions to the problems of youths or children in school, of people who are not involved in the workplace, of families with social problems. This must be done in a constructive way so that they can see the help and solidarity of their neighbors, and the profoundly human and political nature of the organization. These are the most specific ways of putting it into practice.

[Question] But local leaders are not always guilty of poor work. I think there has been a lack of strictness on the part of the higher authorities.

[Answer] That is true, and this is why we are all obliged to participate in the rectification, to change whatever is necessary.

RESPONSE TO READERS' REPORTS OF HOTEL ROBBERIES

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 17 Apr 87 p 88

[Letters to the Editor]

[Text] While Lilia Valdes and Dr Carlos Bravo were staying at the Rancho Luna hotel in Cienfuegos, incidents occurred which caused those readers to write us. Here is the information we obtained.

As a result of the robberies that took place at the Rancho Luna hotel, the management met with comrades from the National Revolutionary Police (PNR), the Interior Ministry, the physical protection unit, the administration, the trade union, and the political organizations of the center, for the purpose of drawing up a plan to put an end to these crimes and to catch the culprits.

The Protection Committees were reactivated, and the hotel guard was beefed up, in accordance with the plan. On 8 December the chief of the guards was arrested, having turned out to be the primary perpetrator of the robberies, including that of Lilia Valdes and Dr Carlos Bravo.

CVP Amaury Perez, turbine operator Elio Acosta, maid Marianela Monzon, and two other citizens were heavily implicated. The latter two were found with wigs, women's dresses, and other accessories they had used in the robberies. All of these individuals were arrested and are awaiting trial.

In addition, the hotel management sanctioned and replaced the chief of the hotel's physical protection unit, and relieved the maitre d'hotel, the manager of the restaurant, and the chief of human resources of their duties. The guard unit was also purged.

The director of the Tourist Enterprise of Cienfuegos tells us that as a result of the measures taken and the proper functioning of the new management and the staff, it can be affirmed that the image of the Rancho Luna hotel is no longer that described by the comrades who wrote to us. The conditions are appropriate for rendering quality service with honor and discipline, it reports.

As for compensation for the damages suffered by our readers, this will be done when the trial is over, through the Reparations Fund.

RADIO RELOJ LISTENERS SURVEYED

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 17 Apr 87 p 12

[Text] Next 1 July will mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of Radio Reloj. To honor this occasion, your news station is holding a contest for its audience, "Four Decades of News."

The contest-survey will improve relations between the audience and the radio station, and will also help gather opinions on our programming, and our accomplishments and deficiencies.

All interested individuals should answer the following questions:

1. When did you begin listening to Radio Reloj?
2. What time do you usually tune in to our broadcasts?
3. Do you feel that Radio Reloj is fulfilling its informational duty? Why?
4. What section(s) of the Weekly Magazine is of greatest interest to you?
5. What other subjects or issues would you like to see discussed in our programs?

Entries will be accepted until next 30 May.

Letters should be typed or written in block letters, and must indicate the age and occupation of the contestant. They should be mailed to: "Four Decades of News" Contest, Radio Reloj, Calle 23 #258, Vedado, Postal Zone 4, Havana.

If it's news, Radio Reloj has it!

8926

CSO: 3248/330

AGRARIAN REFORM PROBLEM ACQUIRES NEW DIMENSION

Peasants' Position Criticized

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 16 May 87 p 3

[Text] Tegucigalpa--President Jose Azcona Hoyo announced yesterday that he will meet next Monday with the leaders of the peasant organizations to study the demands for the transfer of land they have set forth recently.

The chief executive termed the peasant leaders' threat of massive land seizures and a possible peasant march to Tegucigalpa "unfair."

He said the executive director of the National Agrarian Institute (INA), Mario Espinal Zelaya, "is making every effort to arrange all the land assignments possible, but it must be remembered that along with the peasant group, another important production sector exists--livestock breeders and farmers, And it is not possible to allocate all the land the peasants are demanding."

He also said that the position of the peasants in demanding the removal of Mario Espinal as director of the INA is unfair, and that he never offered to turn over 100,000 blocks of land. "They were told that an effort would be made to achieve the goal of allocating 30,000 blocks in 3 months, which would set a record, but there was no promise," he added.

Azcona explained that it was not possible to make a commitment to set a goal for allocating land, because apart from the INA, there is the National Agrarian Council to be considered. "The director of the INA may say that land can be allocated, but the owner of the land can appeal to the National Agrarian Council and the situation may be reversed on that level."

Rapid Reform Needed

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 16 May 87 p 5

[Editorial: "A Mess"]

[Text] It has long been maintained in our country that the problem of primary importance for promoting democratic agrarian reform has to do with the political stability needed to ensure sustained economic development. On this

we are in agreement. However, a stable regime will not suffice if the political determination to bring about the changes the process requires is lacking.

Agrarian reform must be a massive, rapid and drastic process of redistributing rights to the land and to water as well. Agrarian reform is not a settlement program, nor can colonization methods be used to implement it.

It is true that in order for agrarian reform to take place within a certain institutional stability, there must be broad political support by the popular majorities. In other words, the political conditions needed for agrarian reform must be created in order to make it possible.

In our country, the agrarian problem has become a burning issue. The demands for real changes in the process on the part of organized and unorganized peasant groups have become constant.

The organizations complain of the lack of a clearly defined policy, the lack of land suitable for cultivation and of timely technical and economic aid, which has led to a dangerous stagnation.

The peasants are again demanding the head of the executive director of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) and threatening to seize land if this official is not removed. It is a fact that for more than a year and a half, that state body has been wasting time in bitter disputes, first with the trade unionists and then with the peasant groups. If the reorganization of the INA cadres was necessary, there is no valid reason for the conflicts to continue.

There is a need to put that house in order. Otherwise, pandemonium will continue, to the detriment of the interests of the nation. We must not forget that the failure of the democratic agrarian process could lead to the raising of the banners of the leftist extremists in the rural sector. This has happened in other countries. Why should Honduras be the exception?

The process, then, must be carried forward. The conservative sectors, which have always opposed any measure affecting their privileges with regard to land ownership, must understand that the system of large-estate ownership and tiny plots cannot continue if we want to keep the democratic system we voluntarily chose safe. Agrarian reform must be promoted within a context of peace and order. Otherwise the result may be anarchy, and this is precisely the climate the enemies of democracy need in order to carry forward their plans for expansion.

We are also agreed that the mere redistribution of land is not agrarian reform. Our peasants must receive, in addition to technical and economic aid, the facilities they need to market their products.

Nor does agrarian reform mean destroying the production units to reassign them to the peasants. The producers without idle land should be protected by the state. Otherwise production in the rural sector will suffer from regrettable stumbling blocks.

The INA should facilitate the transfer of land to the peasants. Only thus will it be possible to avoid anxiety and violence whenever the harvest season approaches. It is not with clubs and court trials that one can eliminate chaos in the rural sector. It is necessary to seek just and equitable solutions. Progressive agrarian reform is something conventionally defined as a tool for economic development. Honduras cannot afford the luxury of allowing an eternal "mess" to continue. And the situation in the farm sector is just that--a mess.

5157

CSO:3248/322

PEASANTS LAUNCH NATIONWIDE LAND-CLAIM CAMPAIGN

Ten Peasant Organizations Mobilize

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 May 87 p 5

[Text] San Pedro Sula—Military security authorities set up a strong roadblock around the regional office of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) early yesterday morning, and effectively prevented hundreds of farm workers from gaining access to the physical plant of this institution and taking it over. The peasants were armed with sticks and machetes.

They had come to recover much of the land they say they need to farm, given that the government has refused to give them any land "willingly." For this purpose, some 70 groups of peasants have taken over several parcels in the departments of Yoro, Santa Barbara, and Cortes. As of yesterday afternoon, some of them still remained.

Jorge Hernandez, leader of the National Association of Honduran Peasants (ANACH), told LA PRENSA that no less than 20,000 peasants have spread out in the regional offices of the INA in the three departments. He reported that they had taken over the offices of that agrarian institute in La Ceiba, Atlantida, Sinaloa, Colon, and Choluteca. They were removed from the latter office by army troops, who persuaded them to vacate the premises peacefully to avoid unfortunate incidents.

Some members of the Peasant Alliance of National Organizations of Honduras (ALCONH) were injured in the sector of Guanacastales, it was reported, but the number of injured persons has not been established.

The peasants who camped out in front of the INA facilities at about 0400 hours belong to 7 of the 10 organizations, which include the ANACH, the Federation of Honduran Agrarian Reform Cooperatives (FECORAH), the Peasant Alliance of National Organizations of Honduras (ALCONH), ACAN, the National Central Organization of Farm Workers (CNTC), CENACH, and the National Association of Peasant Women (ANAMUC).

INA Central, Regional Offices Occupied

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 May 87 pp 5-6

[Article by Jose Danilo Izaguirre]

[Text] Tegucigalpa--Organized peasants peacefully took over the regional and central offices of the National Agrarian Institute (INA), demanding that they be given land and that INA Director Mario Espinal step down.

The main offices were taken by the peasants early yesterday morning; the peasants contended that the commitment signed by the president of the republic several weeks ago was not being honored.

Hundreds of peasants flocked to the capital from nearby locations to take over the INA offices, which are in the neighborhood of Alameda. They also took over INA offices in other places, as well as parcels of privately-owned land.

Security forces were stationed at the INA offices in this capital to prevent the strikers from damaging the institution's physical facilities.

The farm workers always showed respect for the authorities, who were ordered by their superiors to be firm but well-mannered, considering the consequences that might ensue if violence were used.

The organizations included in the National Movement for Peasant Unification are protesting the indifference with which the agrarian reform process is treated under Mario Espinal's leadership.

In this connection, they made a number of requests to the Honduran chief of state in order to solve the conflicts and implement the process of comprehensive, participative agrarian and forestry reform.

The leaders say that the current Development Plan does not envision agrarian reform as an instrument of change that can guarantee social justice in the rural sector.

In this regard, the peasants are requesting that INA Director Mario Espinal and Assistant Director Carlos Tejada resign immediately, and that experts on agrarian matters be named to replace them.

They are also demanding that technical assistance be channeled toward strengthening credit and training, with the participation of the peasant organizations and an emergency land distribution plan.

They also want the president of the republic to ask the Supreme Court of Justice to repeal the order whereby the legal representatives of peasants must submit proof of bank accounts or public deeds for real estate in order to obtain their release on personal bond.

In addition, they are calling upon the executive branch to form a commission that would be made up of representatives from all the peasant organizations,

the INA, Natural Resources, and the National Agricultural Development Bank (BANADESA). This commission would study the past-due loans held by the beneficiaries of agrarian reform, and would work with the peasant organizations to devise a national agrarian reform plan.

Urban Areas Occupied

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 22 May 87 p 64

[Text] A new peasant mobilization took place yesterday in the north, where leaders of various organizations brought thousands of farm workers to San Pedro Sula. There, armed with clubs, they stationed themselves around the facilities of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) which are being guarded by Public Security Forces.

Miguel Angel Lagos, secretary general of the Free Association of National Organized Peasants (ALCON), stated that the invasion of the principal cities of the country by farm workers is part of a pre-arranged plan which may last several days, given that the necessary logistics are available.

Lagos explained that they are following a 4-step stratagem with a view to pressuring the government to give the peasants at least 30,000 manzanas of land.

Every day different peasant groups take turns covering those areas of the city which they consider most vulnerable, such as the main streets, where the free transit of vehicles is not allowed.

Urban Lands Seized

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 22 May 87 p 4

[Article by Juan Bosco Campos]

[Text] Comayagua--Valuable land owned by Deputy Luis Alberto Rubi and Jose Chavez has been heavily invaded in this city. The land has been cleared and divided into lots for 380 members, and the new neighborhood has been dubbed "La Madre."

The directors of this association, which was founded on 10 May, began the lot selection process, and the 380 beneficiaries are making voluntary contributions to strengthen their efforts and to hire an attorney, in view of the conflict they may become involved in.

The La Madre land is located to the south of the INVA neighborhood of Piedras Bonitas, and borders on other INVA developments such as 1 de Mayo, 21 de Abril, and Universidad. The association has met with Governor Haydee de Mendez to notify her of the action it is taking.

So far the authorities have not taken any steps to deal with the occupation of the flattest lands in the city. The occupants, meanwhile, feel protected by the national flag, which they have hoisted on a jicara tree.

Further Land Seizures

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 21 May 87 p 5

[Text] Morazan, Yoro--A bullet creased a peasant's right leg, and another peasant had a bullet go through his pant leg at the left knee yesterday morning when several landowners shot at 50 peasants in an attempt to evict them from the land they had invaded.

The criminal assault took place at the Ojo de Agua hacienda, owned by Danilo Velasquez. The land is located between this municipality and El Negrito. The La Guadalupe peasant group had seized 141 manzanas of land as part of the farmland occupation operation begun yesterday by seven peasant organizations throughout the country.

The farm workers who were shot at were Francisco Lopez and Martin Hernandez, members of the La Guadalupe group of the CNTC.

Groups of farm workers of the ANACH and the CNTC have invaded about 1,000 manzanas of land in this part of Morazan and El Negrito. The land is owned by Carlos Tinoco, Carlos Inestroza, Ruben Arriaga, Danilo Velasquez, and Hermogenes Mercado, among others.

The 21 de Octubre group invaded 125 manzanas of land belonging to Hermogenes Mercado, located at El Zorzal, near the village of Chaiguapa. The land was seized because it was lying fallow, according to the occupiers.

Meanwhile, the La Guadalupe group occupied 141 manzanas of Danilo Velasquez' land, part of his hacienda Ojo de Agua, and the Independencia group seized 272 manzanas of land belonging to Ruben Arriaga.

The peasant groups of the ANACH seized 125 manzanas owned by Carlos Tinoco and more than 120 manzanas belonging to Carlos Inestroza in this operation.

The ANACH groups known as Las Pilas, Monte Video, El Tarro, and Brisas del Valle also participated in the operation in the department of Yoro. In the El Negrito sector, the occupations were also carried out by the groups Bienvenidos, Honduritas, 6 de Noviembre, Las Maravillas 1 and 2, Vecinos de Cuyamapa, Dulce Nombre, and Chaiguapa.

Land, INA Seizures Resolved

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 May 87 p 2

[Article by Jose Danilo Izaguirre]

[Text] Tegucigalpa--The problem posed by the take-over of the INA offices and the land invasion that began Wednesday was solved after the government decided to improve the peasants' situation.

The president of the republic and the chief of the Armed Forces were a determining factor in putting an end to the conflict sparked by the peasants.

The farm workers were invited by the president to solve the problem, but he stood firm in insisting that Mario Espinal remain as director of the National Agrarian Institute (INA).

The parties in the dispute signed an agreement that will improve the situation of the peasants who are demanding land to farm, as well as the terms of credit that will enable them to contribute to the development of the national economy.

The distribution of lands under an emergency program served as a framework for reaching an understanding. The president, the INA director, and Minister of Natural Resources Rodrigo Castillo Aguilar committed themselves to developing the program in the short term.

The land distribution will begin Monday, at the request of the peasant leaders, who wanted some time to inform their members of the decisions that had been made.

The officials also agreed to restore credit to the peasants whose debts to the National Agricultural Development Bank (BANADESA) are past due.

In this regard, the INA director will meet with BANADESA President Armando Erazo to renegotiate the terms under which the peasants will be able to obtain new loans.

The peasants who occupy lands, whether state- or privately owned, should understand that first it will be determined whether price is an obstacle to turning over the land. If it is, they will be relocated shortly.

Under these conditions, the peasant leaders agreed to allow Espinal to remain in office, in the hopes that on the basis of this agreement the land and credit program can be implemented.

In addition, attorney Armando Blanco Paniague, legal adviser to President Azcona, was appointed to represent the peasants who are in jail.

The government agreed to release the jailed peasants as soon as possible, adhering, of course, to national law. The parties in the dispute agreed to sign a document designating members of the Armed Forces and the government and peasant leaders to reach an agreement immediately on giving land to rural Hondurans through the emergency plan.

The commission includes Minister of Natural Resources Rodrigo Castillo Aguilar and INA Director Mario Espinal, or some representative named by these officials.

Cols Manuel Enrique Suarez Benavidez and Carlos Obdulio Reyes Barahona will represent the Armed Forces. They have broad powers to channel the land distribution within the provisions of agrarian legislation.

Luis Lagos, Francisco Vasquez, Benjamin Garmendia, Jose Nahun Calix, Ines Fuentes, Hernan Medina, Santos Alvarez, Marco Antonio Reyes, Luciano Barrera, and Teofilo Trejo were named to represent the peasant organizations.

The commission will begin its work Monday; its objective is to provide support for the peasants who need land for farming.

Agrarian Problem Resolved by Army

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 26 May 87 p 5

[Editorial]

[Text] The good news is that for the time being, the peasants have been mollified and a truce will be observed. In the meantime, everyone is waiting to see how the commission assigned to get agrarian reform underway will function.

The government is pleased that it was able to keep the INA director in place by fire and sword. "I would resign myself," said President Azcona, "before accepting the resignation of Mario Espinal." Now that is real loyalty, not just lip service. So stop going after Marito, or one of these days we will find ourselves without a president for demanding changes in the INA.

And the peasant leaders who threatened to "go to the final consequences" if Espinal was not removed, were made to look like fools (the next to the last consequence), because the INA director is still there, as sound as a lempira, alive and kicking.

At any rate, President Azcona did not have the slightest intention of putting off his trip to Israel because the peasants had staged an uprising. He says that all this uproar is very normal in a democracy, and that the trade union organizations can get as excited as they want, because democracy provides rights that must be respected. One of these is the sacred right to cause an uproar, a hubbub, a ruckus.

Actually, we don't see much difference between what is happening now, under a democracy, and what used to occur when these problems arose under military regimes.

Then, the labor organizations, such as they were, would take over any old public or private facility as a means to exert pressure so that their demands would be met. Or better yet, they would go out on strike whenever they felt like it to pressure for victories or requests. And thus, under pressure, the government (or whoever) would find some solution to the problem, and all would be well. But the law served no purpose at all, because no one ever followed any legal procedures for demanding anything. Whoever did not like a situation would rebel, begin pressure tactics, and negotiate everything outside any legal framework or provision.

The military, incidentally, was always open to dialogue; it loved to talk. Everything was settled by negotiations. Those were real gab fests, and they talked about everything but law enforcement. Sure, the justification was that there was no reason to obey the law anyway if the government wasn't legitimate. They said that since the officials of the government adhered to the Constitution only when it did not contradict their proclamations, then if those on top were illegal, what could they expect of those below?

We all thought that things would change with the constitutional governments. We had the impression that through the Constitution, problems would be aired, discussed, and solved within the law. We thought there would be respect for legal norms in the resolution of conflicts.

But what a surprise! Things have changed very little.

Since nothing is ever solved for the peasants, or anyone else, or they don't get everything they ask for, they proceed just the way they used to. They seize lands and take over public facilities to demand a right. Once the government holds a gun to their head, then they resort to dialogue, just like before. The law is worthless. It does not regulate the conduct of those who govern or those who are governed. And, coincidentally, it is not civilians who solve problems either; it seems to be the military that keeps solving problems. Nothing would have come out of this uproar at the INA if the chief of the Armed Forces and his advisers had not gotten involved to mediate in the conflict.

The peasant leaders pay more attention to the military than to that chorus of ministers surrounding President Azcona. And since people are already getting the idea that nothing is solved here except by force, pressure, and agitation, now we will see what will happen. Everyone will rebel to get whatever he wants by force.

So explain this: What is the difference between now and then? We'll see. There are those who really think that anarchy and democracy are the same monkey with a different tail.

Inspection of Seized Lands

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 26 May 87 p 5

[Excerpt] San Pedro Sula—To carry out the Emergency Plan requested by the Peasant Organizations, the Special Commission named by President Jose Azcona Hoyo, under Agreement 083-87 of 22 May, today will begin touring all the lands occupied by the peasant groups belonging to the various organizations. The seizures were part of the nationwide land recovery operation that took place on the 20th of this month.

The Special Commission is comprised of one representative each from the peasant organizations ANACH, FECORAH, ACAN, UNC, and CNTC; the executive director of the National Agrarian Institute (INA), Mario Espinal; Cols Manuel Enrique Suarez Benavides and Carlos Obdulio Reyes Barahona, representing the

Armed Forces; and the legal adviser to President Azcona Hoyo, Armando Blanco Paniagua.

The commission's work is coordinated by the Secretariat of Natural Resources, and Vice Minister Luis Alonso Quezada will lead the tours in his capacity as representative of the head of that secretariat.

According to the ANACH representative on the commission, Francisco Vasquez, the body's function is to visit the occupied lands and to decide right there whether the expropriation or recovery of those lands by the various peasant organizations is proper or improper.

8926

CSO: 3248/328

HONDURAS

BRIEFS

SECOND NATIONAL UNITY PACT PROPOSED--Tegucigalpa--The highest-ranking leader in the opposition National Party, Rafael Leonardo Callejas, suggested yesterday to President Jose Azcona Hoyo that he sponsor a national unity pact where foreign policy is concerned and in connection with the economic, political and social affairs of the country. Rafael Leonardo Callejas announced that the National Party is now working on a draft national consensus agreement, in particular with regard to the position of Honduras on specific matters such as the situation in Nicaragua, El Salvador and the United States itself. The aspirant to the presidential post said that the situation in Nicaragua "keeps us in confusion" about the final outcome of the U.S. policy towards Central America. In this connection, Callejas said that Honduras should adopt a foreign policy based on a national consensus, and should not weaken because of any changes which may have come about in the foreign policy of the United States. "We are worried about drastic changes in the U.S. policy," he said. He noted that it is necessary for the various sectors in the country to be informed about the implications of the government policy regarding Nicaragua, El Salvador and the United States. He said that it has not been possible thus far to achieve a national consensus, which he regards as "vital," because of the "lack of initiatives." [Text] [San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 11 May 87 p 18] 5157

CSO:3248/322

COPARMEX ANALYZES POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 15 May 87 pp 1, 10, 31

[Article by J. Jesus Rangel M.: "Six Precandidates Who Have Passed Their Tests"]

[Text] Despite the fact that six PRI precandidates have already passed the "eliminary tests" in the presidential succession process, as far as the Employers Confederation of the Mexican Republic (COPARMEX) is concerned there is the possibility that "another one will be nominated. It is a risk that one must run in a closed system of selection such as the Mexican."

Only one of the precandidates analyzed by the private agency, under the slogan: "An application for employment in which the reader decides who he will hire," has an orderly, structured system of ideas of his own. The rest have no known work that will establish a political ideology of their own; three of them have previously held elected positions and four of them are over 50 years of age.

The precandidates analyzed by COPARMEX in a document already circulating among the businessmen of the country--one of whose copies was obtained by EXCELSIOR--are: Ramon Aguirre Velazquez, chief of the Federal District Department; Secretary of Interior Manuel Bartlett Diaz, Secretary of energy, Mines and Parastate Industry Alfredo del Mazo Gonzalez, PRI leader Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, Secretary of Public Education Miguel Gonzalez Avelar, and Secretary of Planning and Budget Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

According to the COMPARMEX analysis, titled "Presidency 88-94, Options of the System," the precandidates have two common characteristics: All have occupied party positions within the PRI and all have their own political team which they have formed themselves. Only one of the persons in question has no experience as a professor.

Also, in only one case among the six precandidates, there is no "blood right" in the revolutionary family, although he is linked to power groups that have won the presidency twice in succession.

Based on the analysis of each of the six PRI precandidates, who passed the "preliminary tests, according to COPARMEX, it is learned that three of them

took specialized studies abroad and that only two of them have had a work experience in the private sector. There is absolutely no experience among the other four cases, or their participation is not known.

As a fundamental base for determining who is best suited to exercise the Presidency of the Mexican Republic, COPARMEX established the criterion of leadership so that the citizenry may make a more accurate judgment.

In the document obtained by EXCELSIOR, COPARMEX states that leadership is based on the following points:

Veracity, congruence and prestige.

Skills for the position: Experience in making decisions, knowledge of Mexican society, mastery of the mechanisms and laws of the system, information on national and international problems.

Intentions: What direction is he going to take. What is his background? COPARMEX clearly establishes that this work contains some information organized in such a way that it will help the reader to form a first opinion on the presidential hopefuls, and that the presentation is drafted like a job application. "The reader decides who he will hire."

It pointed out that the precandidates selected are those who in the opinion of the team of analysts "have passed the eliminatory tests and are now taking the finals," emphasizing that the analysts have not injected any personal or subjective opinion. "All are data from objective documents, the conclusions are those of the reader."

It establishes that the bibliography analyzed for arriving at the analyses of the six precandidates are: "Biographic Dictionary of the Government of Mexico;" "Presidency of the Republic, 1984"; "Mexican Political Biographies, 1935-1975," Roderic Ai Camp, Tucson, Arizona, U.S. 1976, University of Arizona Press. Also, the presidential hopefuls, and those who are not. "Who for 1988?" Adrian Lajous, Mexico, 1986, Edamex; "The Candidates," Adrian Lajous, Mexico, 1987, Edamex; "Encyclopedia of Mexico," Mexico, 1977, and national magazines and newspapers.

The following are the analyses of each of the six precandidates.

Ramon Aguirre V.

I. The Man and His Circumstances, Personal Information

He was born 21 September 1935 in San Felipe, Guanajuato, from a lower middle-class family. In his personal official record are no names of schools where he attended basic, middle or preparatory classes. It is presumed that at age 16 he moved to Mexico City to receive preparatory and professional education. He is married to Clara Luz Vizcuet Manteca. He has two sons: Javier and Rodrigo. The former is already entering politics.

Academic Training: Public accountant, graduate of the National Business and Administration School, UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] (1957), Thesis: System of Costs in the Steel Structure Industry."

Political Experience: A) Elected offices, none. He was nominated by the PRI for federal deputy from a district of Guanajuato, but he gave up the candidacy to occupy a subsecretariat in the SSP [Secretariat of Planning and Budget]

B) Party positions: He joined the PRI in 1956. Held minor posts in the IEPES [Institute for Political, Economic and Social Studies]. Founder and president of the INCOPSE, Institute of Public Accountants in the Service of the State, 1980-1982 (Sector CNOP-PRI--National Confederation of Popular Organizations-PRI).

C) Experience in Public Administration: Central Sector: Chief of auditors for income tax, SHCP [Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit], 1956-1960. Sub-director of Income SHCP, 1971. Director General of Disbursements, SHCP, 1971-1975, Subsecretary of Disbursements, SHCP, 1976, Sub-secretary of the budget, SPP, 1977-1981. Secretary of Planning and Budget, SPP, 1981-1982, Chief of the Federal District Department from 1982 to date.

D) Parastate Sector: Vice president of Planning and Finances of the Sometex Bank, 1978-1979.

Experience in other Areas: Teaching and research: Professor in the National School of Business and Administration, UNAM, 1963-1970. Professor in the National Institute of Public Administration, 1972-1975.

B) Private Enterprise: Director general of the Mexican Mortgage Association, 1977. No other participation in private companies is publicly known. It is mentioned in some circles that he worked for Celanese Mexicana.

C) Associations: President of the Executive Council of the Inter-American Public Budget Association, 1981-1982; Member of the National Academy of Administrative Law and of Public Administration, INAP [National Institute of Public Administration], member of the Mexican Institute of Finance, member of the Public Accountant Association of Mexico.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family, Jus Sanguinis (Blood Right) [Birthright] He has none.

Jus Soli (Right of land, Place of birth)

Ramon Aguirre's political career began in the financial areas and public administration budgets. His ranking in the political class does not go back more than 20 years. The most prominent figure to which his rise is closely linked is that of Lic Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado and in second place, to Mario Ramon Beteta and Jose Lopez Portillo.

It is a short but fortunate career, since the revolutionary branch to which he belongs has won the presidency of the republic twice in succession. In the official biography of this precandidate there is a gap: from 1960, when he left a minor post in the Secretariat of Finance, to 1971, when he was appointed the subdirector of disbursements of the SHCP and his return to the public sector, nothing is known.

Ramon Aguirre has formed his own political team with personnel of two types: "Pure Ramonistas," and Ramonistas recruited from other branches of the revolutionary family with political experience. Among the former can be cited a number of federal deputies: Gilberto Nieves Jenkin, Adrian Mora Aguilar and Santiago Onate Laborde. In other areas are Arturo Gonzalez de Aragon, Jose Bustani Hid, and Juan Benito Coquet Ramos.

Among the latter, the following can be mentioned: Juan Maldonado Pereda, Francisco Berlin Valenzuela, Guillermo Cosso Vidaurri, Humberto Romero and many more.

The Tragid Dozen

In the 6-year period of Echeverria, this precandidate held positions in the Secretariat of Finance responsible for the area of disbursements. In the 6-year period of Lopez Portillo he was in a secondary level position until September 1981 in the policy for the preparation of the budget and was in a key position of the last 14 months of the 76-82 6-year term. In the present government, he left the technical areas and passed on to a position eminently political and executive.

III. The Man and His Ideas

He cannot be placed within a framework of a political ideology of his own. There are no documents signed by him that allow this to happen. Therefore, he has to be classified within the line of Mexican Revolutionary Nationalism proclaimed by President Miguel de la Madrid.

IV. The Man and Decision Making

Ramon Aguirre has experience in making technical and political decisions. The first phase of his career, which ran from 1971 to 1982, was technocratic, but as of the time he assumed command of the Department of the Federal District, his responsibilities have been of a political nature.

This precandidate is considered by observers as a bureaucratic career politician, who has two qualities: He is effective and skillful. The former quality caused him to rise in the hierarchy of the financial sector, the latter has led him to govern one of the largest cities of the world and to be competing for the presidential chair.

He has perhaps been one of the officials of the present government who has been most severely tested in efficiency. The governing of Mexico City with its economic crisis, budgetary restrictions and an earthquake such as that of

1985, is a task of great scope. Despite that and the fact that there are many problems of urban services, insecurity, environmental pollution and overcrowding, it could not be said that there is urban chaos.

His critics say he has serious shortcomings such as that of being bohemian, provincial, lack of personality and a lover of parties and somewhat scandalous soirees. They grant him no other merit than that of being a friend of President De la Madrid. They point to two great errors:

The decree ordering the expropriation of urban sites in the zone damaged by the 1985 quakes, which he later has to withdraw.

The terrible statement made on 7 September 1985: "If the critics of the political system are not satisfied with what we Mexicans have been able to do, let them leave!"

Days later he tried to make amends because of a wave of protest aroused in public opinion at this vulgar show of intolerance and authoritarianism. But he became more embroiled in his explanations and the only thing he did was to confirm his first statements.

His political enemies took advantage of these stumbles to such a point that his defenstration appeared imminent, however, the President himself came out in his defense, saying that there was more wisdom than error in his actions.

As of that moment Ramon Aguirre recovered his political drive and has organized huge events in homage to General Juan Arevalo Gardoqui and Fidel Vasquez, and to the president himself he presented "a day of national unity" when he returned from his trip to the Orient in 1986.

All the above confirms that he is skillful, effective and dangerously inclined to populism [as published].

Manuel Bartlett Diaz

I. The Man and His Circumstances, Personal Information

He was born 23 February 1936 in Puebla, state of Puebla, the son of Manuel Bartlett Bautista (lawyer) and Isabel Diaz Castilla. His second wife is Gloria Alvarez Miaja. He has two children, Leon Manuel and Alejandra. (His first wife, Ana Maria Rodriguez Aldaba, lives in Morelia.)

Academic Training

Degree in law, UNAM 1959; postgraduate degree in public law, University of Paris 1959-1961 (scholarship from the French Government and UNAM). He also took some courses at the University of Strasbourg, France; doctorate from the School of Political and Social Sciences, UNAM, 1967-1968; postgraduate in public administration, Victoria University, England, 1968-1969, (scholarship from the British Council).

Political Experience

A) Elected positions: None

B) Party positions: Joined the PRI in 1963. Aide to the secretary general of the CNC [National Peasant Confederation], 1963-1964. Assistant to the secretary general of the PRI CEN [National Executive Committee] 1964-1968. Director the LA REPUBLICA magazine, official organ of the PRI CEN. General coordinator of the presidential campaign for MMH [Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado] in 1981. Secretary General of the CEN, 1981-1982.

C) Experience in Public Administration; Central Sector: Adviser to the director general of credit, SHCP, 1962-1964. Subdirector general of government S.G. 1969. Director general of government, S.G., 1970-1976. Secretary of the Federal Electoral Commission, 1970-1976. Director in Chief of Political Affairs of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations (SRE), 1976-1979. Adviser to the secretary of Planning and Budget, 1979-1981.

D) Parastate sector: Secretary of the Council of Administration of the National Bank of Cooperative Promotion, 1976-1979.

I. Experience in Other Areas

A) Teaching and Research: Professor of the School of Law, UNAM, 1962-1966.

B) Private Enterprise: None. During a time he was a partner in an office specializing in labor law.

C) Associations: None.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family. Jus Sanguinis (Blood Right) [Birth-right] Manuel Bartlett because of his paternal line is accredited with the revolutionary family. His father Manuel Bartlett Bautista was a Madero politician from Tabasco, a Methodist, who occupied a local deputation when a Calles-supporting official, Tomas Garrido Canabal, founder of the Socialist Party of the Southeast, was governor of the state. Bartlett Bautista himself was governor of Tabasco from 1953 to 1955, but did not finish his constitutional term when Adolfo Ruiz Cortines was president of the republic.

Jus Soli (Right of Land) (Place of Birth)

In his political career Manuel Bartlett Díaz has had relationships with legendary politicians as Rojo Bomez in the CNC; a prominent comrade [comarada] of radical politicians Francisco J. Mugica, Garciano Sanchez and Heriberto Jarra.

He also collaborated with Carlos Madrazo (PRI), Lauro Ortega (PRI), Mario Moya Palencia (Secretariat of Interior), Santiago Roel (Secretariat of Foreign Relations) and Miguel de la Madrid.

As can be seen, his ties to expert politicians is rich and varied in trends and tendencies.

The political group that figures as the staff of his precandidate is made up of Mario Vargas Saldana, Pedro Vazquez Colmenares, Fernando Elias Calles, Enrique Fernandez Martinez and a bloc of deputies of the LIII Legislature: Pindaro Uriostegui Miranda, Amin Zarur, Victor Liceaga, Miguel Osorio Marban, Jaime Aguilar Alvarez, Jose Encarnacion Alfaro, Juan Antonio Araujo Urcelay, Jose Berber Sanchez and Manuel Jimenez Guzman.

The candidacy of the secretary of Interior has been supported publicly by two statements by very influential politicians:

Dr Gustavo Baz, former governor of the state of Mexico, historical leader of the Atlacomulco bloc, said in December 1986 to the magazine QHEHACER POLITICO: "Bartlett will be the president...he is perfectly prepared for facing the serious political problems of Mexico...."

Lic. Rodolfo Gonzalez Guevara, political representative of the branch headed by General Alfonso Corona del Rosal, told EXCELSIOR on 25 March 1987: "In my opinion, the best precandidate to the Presidency of the Republic is Lic. Manuel Bartlett Diaz."

The Tragic Dozen [The 6 years of Echeverria and the 6 years of Lopez Portillo]

In the 6-year term of Luis Echeverria, Lic Bartlett Diaz was in the Secretariat of Interior and in the Electoral Commission.

In the 6-year term of Lopez Portillo, he was in the international policy area from 1976 to 1979. When Santiago Roel tried to reduce the Third World anti-Yankee demagoguery and introduce a pragmatic method, it aroused a strong resistance from the bureaucracy of the foreign service and the pro-Cuban and pro-Soviet diplomats, which concluded by overthrowing him. With him went our personality from the SRE.

When he left the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, he became the political adviser of Secretary for Planning and Budget Miguel de la Madrid.

III. The Man and His Ideas

No published work in which his ideology can be identified is known. In all his speeches he follows the official formulas of the Mexican Revolution and the defense of the regime for which he works.

IV. The Man and Decision Making

Adrian Lajous has this opinion: "There is no doubt that he cuts off heads. What must be determined is whether he only does it when necessary or whether he also does it because he likes to.... He convinced De la Madrid to continue with the policy of the full bus [the allusion is vague, but presumably means that there is no room for any parties but the PRI].... He has a great desire for governing, he has dignity and integrity, he is arrogant and proud but he has greatness and talent...."

These evaluations appear to be backed by the following decisions he has made within the area of his jurisdiction: Aggressive and overriding state communications policy; 1985 legislative elections with serious irregularities in the methods and processes in many districts but without disturbances. Elections in Chihuahua, Durango, Sinaloa, Nuevo Leon and Sonora. The closing of spaces at a municipal level to the opposition. New federal electoral code with some advances and regressions. UNAM conflict. SME [Mexican Trade Union of Electricians] strike.

V. Miscellaneous

He has been decorated by the governments of the FRG, Brazil, Bulgaria, Spain, France, Hungary and Japan.

Alfredo del Mazo Gonzales

I. The Man and His Circumstances, Personal Information

He was born on 31 December 1943 in Toluca, state of Mexico. He is the son of Alfredo del Mazo Velez. He is married to Carmen Maza Urueta. He has three sons, the eldest of whom is the godson of Lic Miguel de la Madrid.

Academic Training

He has a degree in Business Administration from the UNAM, 1969 [as published]. His thesis: "Structure, Functions and International Projection of a Savings Bank." Specialization studies on economy, finances and foreign trade in England, Argentina, United States and Chile.

Political Experience

- A) Elected positions: Governor of the State of Mexico, 1981-1986.
- B) Party positions: He joined the PRI in 1962. CNOP, Member of the Ideology Committee of the PRI.
- C) Experience in Public Administration: Central sector. Vice president of the National Banking Committee (1976), director general of credit SHCP 1976-1979. Director of public debt. Director of National Banks. Member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative Reform and of the Committee on Policy of Public Enterprise of the Presidency of the Republic.
- D) Parastate Sector: President of Municipal Promotion in Banobras, adviser to Altos Hornos, Sicartsa, Paper Factories of Euxtepec, Compania Industrial Ayotla, Banobras, Banrural, Fomex, Aseguradora Agricola y Canadera.

Experience in Other Areas

- A) Teaching and Research: None.

B) Private Enterprise: Assistant manager, branch manager and assistant director of the Banco Comercial Mexicano, director of the International Division of Comermex Bank. Director general of Banco de Credito Minero y Mercantil (CREMI). Adviser to Industrias Penoles. Director of the Banco Obrero (Social Sector).

C) Associations: Vice president of the Institute of Public Administration. Vice president of the V Meeting of Commercial Banks of LAFTA in Santiago, Chile, and representative of Mexico to the VII meeting of the Council of Governors of the Latin American Federation of Banks.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family (Blood Right)

Alfredo del Mazo Gonzalez is connected on his father's side to a very important branch of the revolutionary family. His father, Alfredo del Mazo Velez, was senator and governor of the State of Mexico and secretary of water resources during the 6-year term of Lopez Mateos. He figures prominently in the so-called Atlacomulco Group founded by Isidro Fabela, all of them close friends, Jus Soli (Land Right. Place of Birth)

After a very successful career in the private banking sector under the orders of Alberto Bailleres, Lic Miguel de la Madrid took him into the public sector and his political career began there in the faction of the government banking sector that placed him in the Banco Obrero [Workers Bank] in whose administrative council are the most powerful union leaders.

With the support of Miguel de la Madrid and Fidel Velazquez and the timely services of Alejandro Carrillo Castro and Gustavo Carvajal Moreno (President of the PRI). President Jose Lopez Portillo appointed him governor of the state of Mexico against the wishes of the political groups of his state, there arising the case that being son of a person very respected by those groups, he was placed in a position of clashing with those, who because of "Jus Sanguinis," should view him as part of themselves.

The political contingent who support Alfredo del Mazo comes basically from those who strengthen him in becoming governor plus some persons of the Democratic faction of the PRI.

The Tragic Dozen

During the 6-year term of Luis Echeverria, this precandidate found himself in the private sector. At the end, he went into the National Banking Commission in 1976.

During the term of Jose Lopez Portillo, he was in the Secretariat of Finance from 1976-1979, another year in the Banco Obrero and the remainder as governor of his state.

President Miguel de la Madrid made space for him in his cabinet when he sent Francisco Labastida Ochoa to be the governor of Sinaloa.

III. The Man and Decision Making

He has a direct experience in government. According to Andrian Lajous, opinions on him are divided; "The majority consider him an effective executor.... The minority group claims he hides an alarming personality...megalomaniac, headstrong and extravagant."

He is responsible for the project of reconversion and modernization of the parastate sector, a program which has been the subject of interesting decisions.

Monterrey Foundries

Disincorporation of the state controlled strategic sector from some branches of basic chemistry.

When he was governor of the State of Mexico he financed a project for state control intensification with the "Paramunicipal" companies.

Jorge de la Vega Dominguez

I. The Man and His Circumstances

Personal Information.

He was born 14 March 1931 in Comitán, Chiapas, in a family of well to do ranchers with a long history in the locality, since on his maternal side he belongs to the family of the illustrious Senator Belisario Dominguez.

He lived his childhood and adolescence in that city in the southeastern part of the country, where he attended elementary school at the Belisario Dominguez School (1940-1945) and secondary school (1946-1948). At the age of 18 (1949), he went to the capital of the republic where he studied at the National Preparatory School (1949-1950).

Academic Training

He is an economist. He graduated from the National School of Economy of the UNAM (1958), with honorable mention for his thesis: "Petroleum Industry in Mexico: Some Aspects of its Development and Problems of Financing."

Political Experience

A) Elected positions: Federal Deputy from the III District of Chiapas 1964-1967, governor of Chiapas 1976-1977.

B) Party positions: director of the Institute for Political, Economic, and Social Studies (IEPES) of the PRI from 1968 to 1970. President of the PRI National Executive Committee from October 1986 to date.

C) Experience in public administration: Central Sector: Economist of the Secretariat of Industry and Commerce 1951-1955. Chief of the Department of Public Spending in the Secretariat of the Presidency 1963-1964. Secretary of Commerce 1977-1982. Director of the National Nutrition System (SARH) 1983-1985. [SARH--Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources].

D) Parastate Sector: Manager of the Small Business Bank in Tampico, Tamaulipas 1956-1958. Subdirector of Diesel Nacional S.A., 1959-1961. Subdirector of CONASUPO [National Company of Basic Commodities] 1971-1976.

Experience in other areas:

A) Teaching and Research: Professor in the Technological Institute of Ciudad Madero, Tamaulipas, 1957-1958. Professor of the Theory of Public Finance in the National Polytechnical Institute (IPN) 1960-1965. Director of the Graduate School of Economy of the IPN 1963-1964.

B) Private Enterprise: Owner of a ranch in Chiapas. No other participation in private enterprise is known publicly.

C) Associations: President of his class in the National Preparatory School. President of the Class of 1955 of the National School of Economy. Organizer of the First Congress of Students of Economy of Latin America in 1955. President of the National Association of Economists 1961-1963.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family, Jus Sanguinis (Blood Right)

Because he is a descendent of Belisario Dominguez, he is connected by birth-right with the revolutionary class of the first generation of the 1910 movement: Maderismo. The brave forerunner of the precandidate denounced the betrayal by Dictator Victoriano Huerta of President Francisco Madero from the tribune of the Chamber of Senators, an event that cost him his life also.

Jus Soli (Right of Land. Birthplace)

In the political career of Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, there appear as close and decisive figures in his rise, the team of politician-economists who dominated the economic-commercial areas in public administration in the 1958-1970 period.

The grand master of the nucleus was Eduardo Bustamante Vasconcelos, who was the private secretary of two prominent "Callistas" [followers of the Calles ideology] Jose Manuel Puig Casuranc and Aaron Saenz, and who became the secretary of National Patrimony during the term of Adolfo Lopez Mateos. This person trained men like Raul Salinas Lozano, Octaviano Campos Salas and Mario Ramon Beteta Monsalve, who became members of presidential cabinets subsequently. The three were mentors of the generation of economists to which our personality belongs and of which Carlos Torres Manzo, Julio Faesler, Raul Ibanez, Guillermo Martinez Dominguez and others were part. To this same era of UNAM students, but of the School of Law, belong Mario Moya Palencia, Pedro Ojeda Paullada and Pedro Zorrilla Martinez.

Other personalities, not of the university, of great importance in the political career of Jorge de la Vega are Professor Carlos Hank Gonzalez, with whom he was a part of the team in CONASUPO in the 6-year period from 1964-1970, and Dr Lauro Ortega, as president of the PRI, under whom the precandidate occupied the leadership of the IEPES. Jorge de la Vega, in turn, has also formed his team, prominent in which are: Antonio Murrieta Necoechea, Dionisio Perez Jacome, Alfonso Cebreros Murillo, Jorge Tamayo Lopez Portillo, Eduardo de la Torre, Efren Franco and Jose Iturriaga, among others.

The Tragic Dozen

In the 6-year periods of 1970-1976 and 1976-1982, the positions occupied by this precandidate were of primary importance.

With Luis Echeverria he was director of CONASUPO.

With Jose Lopez Portillo, he was Secretary of Commerce,

At the beginning of the 1982-1988 6-year period, he went down in the political hierarchy in the first 4 years; he was placed in a position subordinated to the secretary of agriculture and water resources. Various reports indicated that he did a work of coordination of CONASUPO, SARH, Banrural, ANAGSA and the SRA [Secretariat of Agrarian Reform] from this position for the PRI electoral strategy in 1986 in the difficult states of Chihuahua and Sinaloa, with such good results that he could be considered one of the key elements that prevented the defeat of the PRI in those entities. He was quickly rewarded, rising again to the upper level as chairman of the PRI National Executive Committee.

II. The Man and His Ideas

There is no known work or public statement from which a form of his political-ideological thinking prepared by himself can be extracted. For that reason it can be said that he shares the basic ideology of the political class with the variants and modifications that are made every 6 years by each president. Therefore, he is not an ideological politician but a pragmatic politician of the center, very flexible, which equally allows him to live with stabilizing development, shared development, administration of abundance and revolutionary nationalism.

Among his collaborators there are moderate economists and politicians, as well as "Iphigenians" and socialists.

He has recently made several speeches in which he condemns demagoguery and Utopian solutions,

"The solutions that the PRI adopts for this time of testing for Mexico have to be realistic, feasible and important. There shall be no Utopian proposals that sometimes confuse and hinder the capacity for changing reality. It shall be necessary to conciliate desirable party objectives with the possibilities offered by political, economic and social conditions of the nation." (Opening speech of the XIII PRI Assembly, 2 March 1987)

IV. The Man and Decision-Making

As can be seen, his political career shows several phases: That of apprenticeship, which goes from 1955 to 1961 in which the main aspect he demonstrates is professional and academic, specializing in topics of the economy. It was followed by a second phase from 1961 to 1971, with top echelon projections but still subordinated to higher authority. (President of the National Association of Economists, Federal Deputy, Director of IEPES.) The third phase was one of personal relevance such as the responsibility for making decisions 1971-1982 (Director of CONASUPO, governor of Chiapas, Secretary of Commerce and PRI President).

Jorge de la Vega Dominguez is considered by observers to be a great negotiator. This characteristic is for some a virtue and for others a defect. Adrian Lajous says: "He is a pragmatic, sensible, orderly, honorable and intelligent man of greatness. On the other hand, it seems to me that he can go beyond measure in his endeavor to avoid conflicts."

Of his actions as a politician, two things stand out that fairly reveal his negotiating capabilities:

He was the mediator between a group of student leaders and the government in 1968. The work did not end because all talks failed after 2 October. The basic task assigned to him as president of the PRI is the reconciliation and regrouping of the Revolutionary Family. He has achieved this in certain measure by having restructured the CEN of the PRI and granted positions to the most diverse groups. Undoubtedly it was a personal success that he managed to bring together former Presidents Luis Echeverria and Jose Lopez Portillo and President De la Madrid at the closing of the XIII Assembly of the PRI.

He has not been able to achieve total unification: The Democratic Faction continues to be undisciplined and a group of young PRI members does also despite the fact that in a very daring maneuver he appeared to have reduced the complaints of the young PRI members.

At this time he is making a tour of the entire country in an attempt to close PRI ranks. He repeats two messages with great insistence:

"Obtain clean electoral victories in the 1987 and 1988 elections. Let the democratic and revolutionary development of Mexican society be seen, created and guaranteed." (Speech at the meeting of the National Council, 9 January 1987).

"We could defeat ourselves in the great electoral struggle that is approaching because of a lack of unity." (Speech in Zacatecas, 7 April 1987)

Miguel Gonzalez A.

I. The Man and His Circumstances, Personal Information

He was born 19 March 1937 in Durango, Durango, the son of Medardo Gonzalez Pena, a military man, and of Maria Avelar Duran.

He was married to Lourdes Compean for 25 years and had three sons with her (the elder is a law student, 23 years of age, who worked actively against the reforms attempted at the UNAM). Recently he [Miguel Gonzalez A.] married for the second time to a doctor in psychology and state radio and TV commentator, Tere Vale, who is also divorced and the mother of a son.

Academic Training

A lawyer from the School of Law of UNAM. His thesis: "Nationalization of the Electric Industry."

Political Experience

A. Elected positions: Senator from Durango, 1982-1985.

B. Party positions: He has belonged to the PRI since 1964; PRI CEN press and publicity secretary, 1981-1982.

C. Experience in public administration, central sector: Chief of the Department of University Studies, SEP, 1962-1963; subdirector of Higher Education and Scientific Research, SEP, 1965-1966; private secretary of the Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare, 1970-1971; director general of Social Welfare of the Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare 1971-1972; legal subdirector of INFONAVIT [Institute of the National Fund for Workers Housing] 1972-1976; subdirector general of INDECO [National Institute for Developing the Rural Community and Low Cost Housing] 1976-1979; director general for public information and relations SPP, 1979-1981; secretary of Public Education after the death of Jesus Reyes Heróles in March 1985.

Experience in Other Areas

A) Teaching and Research: Subdirector of Casa del Lago, UNAM, 1959-1962; Director general of the teaching body of thw UNAM 1968-1970; member of the UNAM Commission on University Planning, 1963-1965; professor in the School of Economy, UNAM, 1963-1965; professor in the School of Law, UNAM, 1967-1977.

B) Private Enterprise: None.

C) Associations: None.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family, Jus Sanguinis (Blood Right)

He has none.

Jus Soli (Right of Land, Place of Birth)

In the political career of Miguel Gonzalez Avelar there are three important political figures: Jaime Torres Bodet (in the SEP), Rafael Hernandez Ochoa (in the area of Labor and Social Welfare) and Miguel de la Madrid (State Secretary and Senate).

With the first, he connected with "Vasconcelismo," with the second with the branch of Lic Luis Echeverria, since Rafael Hernandez Ochoa was the private secretary and collaborator of the first when he was secretary of government and president of the republic.

The high point of his political career began as of 1982 when Miguel de la Madrid granted him positions at the highest level.

Observers report that prominent members of "Avelarismo" are the present leader of the Senate, Antonio Riva Palacio, Deputy Salvador Robles Quintero, Avelar's brother, Victor Gonzalez Avelar (former federal deputy), who is secretary of the National Federation of Lawyers at the Service of the State headed by Jesus Rodriguez y Rodriguez (National Lottery), Jose Ramirez Camero (governor of Durango) and Mariano Palacios Alcocer (governor of Quetataro), Heladio Ramirez (governor of Oaxaca) and Americo Villarreal (governor of Tamaulipas), Julio Camelo (former private secretary of Attorney General Oscar Flores Sanchez).

The Tragic Dozen

During the 6-year term of Luis Echevarria, he was in the labor area until 1972, before the outbreak of the democratic faction (SUTERM and Rafael Galvan, FAT etc. [Sole Trade Union of the National Institute of Nuclear Energy Workers; Authentic Labor Front]).

During the Lopez Portillo 6-year term he was in INDECO and from there went to a nonstrategic position in the SPP.

Now, in this government, he has been chosen to halt the educational revolution initiated by Reyes Herroles in order to reinitiate good relations with the SNTE [National Trade Union of Education Workers].

The Man and His Ideas

He is the coauthor of the book "Mexican Legislation of Higher Education," Mexico, UNAM, 1969.

"Mexico on the Threshold of Reform," Mexico, Federacion Editorial Mexicana, 1972.

"The Mexican Constitution of Apatzingan and Other Essays," Mexico, SEP, 1973.

"The Supreme Court and Politics," Mexico, UNAM, 1979.

This is a matter of historical studies from which a prepared ideology is not drawn. He follows the traditional path of the Mexican Revolution.

The Man and the Making of Decisions

The most serious problem he has had to resolve is the conflict with the leader of the Revolutionary Vanguard of the SNTE, Jonguitud Barrios, in which the Secretariat gave in completely to the demands of the SNTE.

He has shown a willingness to listen with a desire to negotiate with the Coordinating Committee of private education, for the solving of tensions that have been created between private educators and the government.

Adrian Lajous opines that he is "intelligent, educated, clever, with a sense of humor, congenial, complicated and a hypochondriac...he is an intellectual... (but)...lacks the desire for power...."

Carlos Salinas de Gortari

I. The Man and His Circumstances, Personal Information

He was born 3 April 1948 in Mexico, D.F., in an upper class family. His father is economist Raul Salinas Lozano, and his mother, Margarita Gortari Carajal. His official record does not indicate where he had his primary, secondary and preparatory education. He is married to Yolanda Cecilia Ocelli Gonzalez.

Academic Training

He is an economist. National School of Economy of UNAM, 1969. Thesis with an honorable mention: "Agriculture, Industrialization and Employment: The Case of Mexico, an Interdisciplinary View." Masters degree in Public Administration, Harvard University, USA, 1973. Masters in Economy, Politics and Government, Harvard University, USA, 1976. Doctorate in Economy, Politics and Government, Harvard University, USA, 1978.

Political Experience

A) Elected positions: None.

B) Party positions: He has belonged to the PRI since 1966. Aide to Deputy Gonzalo Martinez Corbala, 1966-1968. Member of the IEPES, 1971. Representative of the IEPES for the analysis of presidential reports, 1973-1979. Sub-director of economic studies of the IEPES. Collaborator in the preparation of the program of action, 1979. Director general of the IEPES during the presidential campaign of Lic Miguel de la Madrid 1981-1982.

C) Experience in Public Administration, Central Sector: Adviser to the sub-director of public finances. General Directorate of Financial Affairs and International Affairs, SHCP, 1971-1979. Chief of the Department of Economic Studies. General Directorate of Financial Affairs and International Affairs, SHCP, 1974-1976. Technical secretary of the Internal Group, SHCP, 1974-1977. Subdirector of Economic Studies. General Directorate of Economic Studies, SHCP, 1976. Directorate of Economic Studies; General Directorate of Financial

Planning, SHCP, 1977. Subdirector general of Financial Planning, SHCP, 1978. Director General of Financial Planning, SHCP, 1978-1979. Director General of Economic and Social Policy, SPP, 1979-1981. Technical secretary of the economic office of the president of the republic, 1979-1981. Secretary of Planning and Budget from 1982 to date.

D) Parastate Sector: None.

Experience in Other Areas

A) Teaching and Research: Professor in the Institute of Political Training ICAP, 1971. Professor in the School of Engineering, UNAM, 1971-1972. Researcher at Harvard University, USA, 1974. Professor in the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico, 1976, professor in CEMIA [Center for Latin American Monetary Studies], 1978.

B) Private Enterprise: None.

C) Academies, Associations and Societies: Member of the National Association of Economists.

II. The Man and the Revolutionary Family. Blood Right

Carlos Salinas de Gortari descends on his father's side from a political economist who once occupied the Secretariat of National Economy and Commerce during the administration of Adolfo Lopez Mateos and has been director of the Foreign Trade Bank, Mexico's ambassador to the USSR and is now a senator from the state of Nuevo Leon. Don Raul Salinas Lozano belongs to the generation of economists trained by Eduardo Bustamante, among whom, in addition to the father of this precandidate, was Octaviano Campos Salas (Secretary of Commerce during the 6-year term of Luis Echeverria and present Mexican ambassador to the USSR).

Therefore, he has the blood right in the revolutionary family in the branch of the Lopez Mateo economists ("the extreme left within the Constitution") and the nationalization of the electric industry. [as published]

Jus Soli (Right of Land. Place of birth)

The first experience of Carlos Salinas de Gortari was at the age of 18 at the side of a fervent "Cardenista" deputy, Gonzalo Martinez Corbala, who years before was a member of the National Liberation Movement (a coalition of "Cardenistas" and the Communist Party) and later passed into history as the ambassador to Chile in the time of Salvador Allende and as the Mexican decorated by Fidel Castro for his work in the Mexican Embassy in Cuba.

In what could be considered as the real takeoff of the political career of this precandidate, the decisive figure is Lic Miguel de la Madrid. Adrian Lajous believes: "We could establish the political affiliation of Salinas as the son of De la Madrid, since he has been his closest immediate collaborator for some 8 years...."

Upon his return from Harvard University, he joined the academic gody of the ITAM, an institution made up of economists who are more technical and professional and less politicized than those graduating from UNAM. Several political factions meet in the ITAM, such as that of Antonio Carrillo Flores, Antonio Ortiz Mena, Miguel Mancera Aguayo and Gustavo Petricioli.

Carlos Salinas formed his own political group, placing his loyal followers in important positions: Manuel Cavazos Lerma (senior official of the Secretariat of Interior); Manuel Camacho Solis (SEDUE); Luis Martinez Villicana (governor of Michoacan), Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu (governor of Guerrero). In the Chamber of Deputies his flag is flown by: Socrates Rizzo Marcela Conzalez Salas, Jorge Acedo Samaniego, Luis Donaldo Colosio.

Among other members of "Salinismo," we could name Juan Mariano Acoltzin Vidal, Julieta Guevara, Pedro Aspe Armelia, Rogelio Montemayor, Juan Jose Paramo Diaz, Maria de los Angeles Moreno, Jose Cordova Montoya, Isaac Osorio Corpi, Alejandro Moreno Toscano.

When Jesus Reyes Heróles died, many of his disciples went on to swell the ranks of this new branch of the family: Otto Granados Roldan and the tragically dead Demetrio Ruiz Malerva.

The Tragic Dozen

During the 6-year term of Luis Echeverria, this precandidate occupied minor posts of economic studies.

During the administration of Lopez Portillo he played a principal role in the preparation of the Comprehensive Development Plan in the policies of public spending and as the technical secretary of the cabinet.

In the present administration it does not seem an exaggeration to say that he is the key strategist of the government, not only because he is responsible for national planning and for the policy of public spending, but because his influence is noted in other sectors: Finance and party policy.

III. The Man and His Ideas

Carlos Salinas de Gortari has published the following works: "Petroleum Surpluses and Planning in Mexico," "Planning for Development" (Mexico, CFE, 1971); "Production and Political Participation in the Rural Area," (Mexico, UNAM, 1980); "Induction in the National System of Planning in Mexico" and "Legal Aspects of Planning in Mexico," (Mexico, Porrúa, 1981).

He has an orderly, structured system of ideas of his own. He is an ideological politician; he does not follow the official line but rather he influences the government line. He is the ideologue of planning. His thinking is present in the Comprehensive Development Plan for 1980-1982, and in the National Development Plan 1982-1983, which is the continuation of the former; the political philosophy of which is that of sophisticated and technocratic statism.

Adrian Lajous describes him as "the most influential adviser of the president in economic matters," and adds that in the campaign "Salinas was the man of ideas." This means that he assigns to him the paternity of the seven basic theories. It would be well to say that between Reyes Heróles and Salinas de Gortari they created the platform of the present administration.

Many observers have pointed out that his most influential adviser is the present secretary of the SPP, Jose Cordova Montoya, who was no less than one of the advisers of the socialist Francois Mitterrand in the 1974 campaign.

IV. The Man and Decision Making

This precandidate is considered "an outstanding man, exceptionally intelligent and very mentally clever...He has character and energy. He is a complete gentleman...." That is the opinion of A. Lajous in his last article on this personality. Previously, he had said in another: "Now some public officials grumble that the SPP is expanding its sphere of action and establishing controls beyond what is reasonable...."

If, as all commentators agree, Salinas is the supreme artificer of the economic policies and strategies, then it would be necessary to analyze his decisions in PIRE (82-84), super Pire (86), PAC [Incentives and Growth Program] (86), and new PAC (87). A very good debater, he has passionately defended all these policies in the Chamber of Deputies and in all types of forums. Recently he made an important speech in a meeting of CONCAMIN [Confederation of Industrial Chambers] (22 March 1987) in which he expounded some interesting theories.

"We have the conviction that we will enter 1988 with a promising economic panorama, with a declining inflation and a moderate but stable growth; with public spending subject to a strict control and discipline and advancing in the improvement of public finances. We have the strength and enough reserves to guarantee a year of social, economic and exchange stability and of additional advances for the principal social groups of the country."

"National renewal is in the field of deeds and also in that of ideas. We are innovating in the strategies of development. We defend our basic principles, but we cannot attempt, in confronting formidable changes, a return to the tired formulas of the past when faced by the challenges of the future. Instead of populist proposals and neomercantile positions, our intention is that of promoting the people's interests effectively and permanently."

"We have discarded the viewpoint of an absolutist and discriminating state in its customs and methods; we reaffirm the constitutional responsibility of the state in promoting and leading development but we reject the theory that a larger state is a better state."

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NICARAGUA

AERONICA OBTAINS SOVIET AIRCRAFT

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 May 87 pp 1, 5

[Text] Starting on Monday, 25 May the Nicaraguan airline, Aeronica, will be using a Soviet TU-124B aircraft for 40 days, to meet the existing demand, while one of Aeronica's two planes, the Boeing 727, is being repaired in Costa Rica, reported Julio Rocha, general manager of the airline.

He stated this in an interview with BARRICADA, in which he discussed the airline's accomplishments and problems during the first 4 months of the year.

He added that they must take qualitative leaps forward toward a new technology, and so they are making efforts to acquire a type of aircraft such as this one, two Antonov-26 for flights to the Atlantic coast, and an Ilyushin-62 for inter-oceanic flights.

"We are competing with all the airlines in Central America to attract more passengers, and so we need to update our technology, which has traditionally been U.S. technology," said Rocha.

In general terms, the company's overall record is quite good, he said, since in the first 4 months of this year they had planned to generate earnings of \$559,969, but they actually made \$771,937, earning \$211,968 more, thus exceeding their goal.

"Aeronica is one of the few companies in Nicaragua which does not receive a single cordoba from the revolutionary government, and which pays its own operating costs and damages to third parties from its own earnings," emphasized Rocha.

Aeronica's earnings during the first 4 months of 1987 were described as quite positive, despite the difficulties Nicaragua is facing, aggravated by the trade embargo imposed by the Reagan administration, Julio Rocha, general manager of Aeronica, told BARRICADA.

In his report on the company's overall record, Rocha said that during this 4-month period they had planned to sell 15,057 tickets, and they actually sold 14,296, 95 percent of their estimate.

"Aeronica carried 1,331,407 pounds, 99 percent of its scheduled goal. It transported 20,762 passengers, exceeding its estimate of 17,370. This is the equivalent of 119 percent of the plan," said the airline manager.

Aeronica operated 409 flights, while 403 had been scheduled; this also exceeds the stated goal, noted Rocha.

"With all of this we managed to earn \$3,917,501; our ticket sales earned the most foreign currency for the company," said Rocha.

He reported that they have an agreement with Lacs of Costa Rica. It calls for four flights a week on the Managua-San Jose-Miami route, and one direct flight a week between San Jose and Miami and vice versa. This brings in greater revenues, as flights to the United States are more expensive.

"It is important to mention that the point that generates the most profits is in Nicaragua. This is due to the participation of the workers, as they are paid in cordobas and generate dollars," he said.

On domestic flights, they had planned to carry 24,769 passengers and actually carried only 13,463, for in January and February not a single flight was made because of the lack of fuel. This is not attributable to Aeronica, but rather to Petronic [Nicaraguan Petroleum Agency], said Rocha.

"We had the same difficulties with cargo, and carried only 830,962 pounds instead of our scheduled estimate of 1,728,363 pounds, earning 82,642,600 cordobas, instead of the 181 million budgeted," he pointed out.

He added that the revolutionary government and the ministry of transportation have made a political commitment to subsidize flights to the Atlantic coast, despite the fact that this route does not generate revenue for the airline.

He also said that since 1983 the company has not received a single cent from the central government, and to date they are earning profits and meeting their expenses from their own resources.

"We are now in the process of purchasing two turbines for the Boeing 727, which is the only one that is operating," said Rocha. In closing, he added that the company is in a stabilization phase, and it will grow even stronger when it acquires new equipment and obtains new technology.

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CSO: 3248/325

NICARAGUA

CARRION: SOCIAL CONTROL FORM OF 'CLASS STRUGGLE'

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 26 May 87 p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Luis Carrion]

[Text] Social Control: a Matter of Class Struggle

The involvement of the masses was made clear at the first National Social Control Assembly, attended by 800 representatives from all of Nicaragua's socioeconomic sectors. They met to discuss the major tasks required for exercising control over production, distribution, and consumption.

The assembly became a wellspring of experiences with social control. These experiences were shared at this assembly, and their practical applications are now spreading.

The participants explored the contents of the measures the government and the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] have taken in distribution policy. These measures, designed to protect employees from rising speculation and inflation, were supported by the people attending.

In this redefinition of policies, the sectors of defense, urban and rural employees without distinction of category, family, social, industrial, and food consumption, and finally, institutional consumption and the free market were prioritized in terms of their benefits.

Below we are presenting excerpts from the closing speech given in Managua by the FSLN national leadership member, Revolutionary Comandante Luis Carrion, on Saturday, 23 May.

While social control can not expand the quantity of products available, it does have an extremely important function to fulfill: to ensure the best possible distribution of the limited goods available, to defend the vital interests of those sectors of the population which are truly sustaining the nation.

The revolutionary government's policies in this area are meant to ensure access to a minimum of basic commodities, first of all, to the soldiers who

day after day are defending our nation at the sacrifice of their own lives; to workers and technicians engaged in industrial and farm production; to the peasants who grow a large part of the foods we consume; and to state workers, who with their labor, provide educational and health services and perform the necessary jobs of direction and administration of the economy. These are our priorities, because as a government of the workers, we must first of all take care of the needs of the workers, the fundamental pillar of society and of the revolution.

In all frankness, we do want to say that taking care of their needs first does not mean that we will be able to meet all their needs satisfactorily. Even when we consider only these population groups, the availability of products in circulation in official and reliable channels will not be sufficient for everyone, nor can all products circulate through these channels.

The rest of the necessary or desirable products will have to be purchased in the free market, which operates in our country in accordance with the principles of a mixed economy, as set forth in the constitution. What we want is for the essential social classes of the revolution to receive everything they must have through the established channels, so that the products will not go to other sectors, which are not the ones being given priority.

Effectively ensuring that distribution will be handled in accordance with these principles is not simply a matter of administrative efficiency and organization; it is essentially a class struggle. On one side are the workers who, in conjunction with their government, are trying to exercise their political intentions; and on the other side are people who have gotten rich through business, the sale of services or other activities, and who are using the enormous amounts of money they have to try to get for themselves the share that belongs to the workers. In this struggle for the available social product, these elements raise prices, bribe workers and officials, sabotage the people's and the government's efforts to organize distribution and even production itself; finally, they use their resources and their imagination to frustrate the people's intentions.

So social control is an organized form of struggle by the workers and honest merchants to defend that part of the social product which is rightfully theirs.

For MICOIN [Ministry of Domestic Trade] and the police can not by themselves fight the battle against illegal merchants. They can take the initiative and act energetically, but their efforts would be doomed to failure if the people's organizations did not mobilize to back them up and support their undertakings. Moreover, it isn't possible for the ministry of industry, through administrative procedures, to ensure that the production of the state's industrial plants--and here we are not speaking about private industries--will not be [illegally] diverted. In the final instance, the organized and conscious action of the working class and of their unions will be the best insurance

that the revolutionary government's political decisions will be carried out. We could give dozens of examples of this,

The marketing systems which the revolutionary state has been developing in recent years are new and in many respects they still have problems that can and must be worked out. We need time and hard work to gain experience, correct these mistakes and gradually grow stronger. But still, despite any faults they may have, we must defend them because they are our distribution mechanism, created to defend the workers' interests; in this sense, they are a social and revolutionary conquest.

Recently, some claims have been made that the indepth problem lies in the state's intervention in marketing of products, and that the best solution would be to eliminate state intervention and allow private merchants to handle distribution problems. In our present circumstances, this proposal is nothing but a formulation of the interests of the wealthy and of the merchants, who would be the only ones to gain through a policy of this nature.

Free trade in all products in the midst of our present scarcity would only deprive wage earners of even more of their ability to obtain products, since the only criterion then operative would be purchasing power. While the workers can now get at least a few things at reasonable prices, that would become totally impossible if we heeded this ill-intentioned advice.

Imperialism has failed in its attempt to destroy the revolution by military means and its own strategists have been coming to the realization that the strategic decline of their mercenary forces is an irreversible process. Still, they continue to hope that if not by military means, the Sandinist Peoples Revolution may be defeated by economic troubles. That is why they are persisting in their support for the contras as a force to carry out acts of sabotage and terrorism that will make our people's difficult living conditions even worse. They hope that economic difficulties will promote demoralization and division among our people, that apathy and desperation will spread, and that everyone will try to solve his own problems at any cost; that the peasants will be in conflict with the workers; the workers with consumers; that everyone will oppose the government, and that this division of society will make it impossible for us to continue to defend the revolution as we have until now.

And while the people's patriotic unity is being kept essentially intact, it is also true that there are some sectors of our population which, either consciously or unconsciously, are helping to promote the enemy's intentions.

The peasant who refuses to sell even part of his production to the state, despite the fact that his supplies and the tools he uses receive subsidies, is, perhaps unwittingly, helping to further the enemy's designs.

The official who makes use of his position and diverts resources placed under his responsibility, either for his own benefit or for that of other people, is also weakening the people's unity.

The worker who steals products from his factory to sell to speculators is acting against his own class interests.

The craftsworker who produces shoddy goods, thus wasting the limited resources and raw materials that the revolutionary government is able to provide, is serving the enemy's purposes.

Social control is necessarily based on solid political unity among the workers, peasants, and honest merchants. The idea of social control arises from the conviction that it is not possible to deal with the economic consequences of aggression if we are disorganized or act on an individualistic basis. Just as during wartime it is not possible to face the enemy with troops in disorder, lacking discipline, with every soldier doing just what he feels like.

We reject the attitude of the leaders and officials who show complacency toward their subordinates who dispose freely and improperly of the resources allocated to them, saying that this behavior is "understandable" because of the severe economic limitations to which they are subjected. This paternalistic logic is not appropriate for the workers' true class interests.

It is precisely at times of crisis that society and the people have to respond with a maximum of order and discipline, and they must not allow themselves to be permissive toward anarchy and distortions. The people's problems and legitimate demands must be met and resolved, using appropriate methods that will strengthen revolutionary organization and morale.

This effort we are making today strikes a blow at the concept of a paternalistic government, a concept which some people, both inside and outside the government, still hold.

There are some people who are promoting passivity in the people, who think that the people should just ask for and expect everything from the government. There are others, operating along the same lines, who think that every problem can be solved by the bureaucracy, and who lack confidence in the people's ability to participate and do the jobs that they think can only be done by the state. Both attitudes are nothing but two sides of the same ideological coin, one which fosters popular apathy, which does not have confidence in the masses and which tends to build up a wall dividing the people and the government.

The revolutionary government is the people's instrument for exercising their political power and for organizing to perform some vital tasks of society, but not all of society's tasks. The people's democracy which we are building

in Nicaragua requires that the workers and all the people shoulder their responsibilities, organize themselves, and take direct action to solve their basic problems, in conjunction with and under the guidance of their revolutionary government. Institutional initiative should be completed and in some cases replaced by the initiative of the organized people. The action of the masses is the raw material of which great historic deeds are made.

The war we are fighting against the mercenary forces is not solely the responsibility of the Sandinist Peoples Army; this is a war being fought by all the people; by the peasant militia; by workers and technicians who every day risk their lives to carry on with production in wartorn zones; by teachers, doctors and nurses who, despite the counterrevolutionary terrorism, are bringing health care and education even to places where the sound of combat is an everyday reality; by the young soliders who are in military service, and by their parents who are encouraging them. And this is precisely why the mercenaries and the imperialists are not going to succeed!

Comrades, neither MICOIN nor the efforts of social control can work miracles, and in order to avoid disillusionment and frustrations it is vital that we all be very clear about just what can be achieved and what can not be done. Social control can not increase the availability of products beyond the quantities already existing.

We must recognize that there are not sufficient supplies of all the basic commodities that will enable us to fully satisfy demand from all sectors of the population, and that this situation can not be changed in the short term.

This situation is nothing new. Never in the history of Nicaragua have the people had sufficient products to satisfy their most basic needs, not even in times of greater economic prosperity. The majority of the Nicaraguan people have lived sunk in the most dreadful poverty. Some who like to make comparisons between the past and the present--definitely motivated by political considerations--say that in the past the shops were full of products and anyone could go there to buy them. But the truth is that only very few people had access to those products, while the majority of the Nicaraguans suffered from hunger and disease.

But in the past this poverty was kept hidden behind shopwindows filled with trinkets and colored lights, while the poor had to swallow their rage in silence because they had neither the right nor the possibility to complain. They were deprived of a voice because the rich, those who had the most, also controlled the media and their problems, their demands, not those of the poor, were made known and publicized.

But now, thanks to the revolution, the people have won the right to make demands, to express opinions and to act to defend their own interests. Today their voice is being heard and it resounds strongly and surely, making full

use of their revolutionary gains. For that reason, these problems with supplies and the shortages are being discussed every day in the people's assemblies, they are talked about in the media, and they are analyzed in meetings between the people and their leaders.

But even apart from these political realities, the availability of goods is less today than before the counterrevolutionary war was intensified, and even less than the total availability before the triumph of the revolution. But this should not come as a surprise to anyone. Could this situation possibly be any different, faced as we are with a brutal war financed by the U.S. government at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars? How could it be different when we are suffering the consequences of the U.S. trade embargo that affects all our transactions and our international trade? And aren't the international prices of our products so ridiculously low that they have pushed the majority of the Latin American countries into a situation of deep economic crisis? And how could we have more products when we have been hurt by systematic sabotage and all the consequences of the subversion being promoted by the agencies of U.S. imperialism?

All wars in history have had as a consequence an acute deterioration in the people's living conditions, whether the wars have been in Nicaragua, in Latin America, in Europe, in Asia, or in any other part of the world, and the poorer and weaker the nation's economy, the more serious and profound the consequences of such an aggression will be. It should not surprise us that in these circumstances the production and availability of goods and services for the people have declined. What is truly surprising everyone is that, despite all of the imperialists' efforts to demoralize our people, to mercilessly destroy our economy and to overthrow the revolutionary government, we are still capable of defending our people and keeping our economic activity organized, that we are holding firm and united, defending our revolution in the full conviction that today's sacrifices are not made in vain, but that they form the indispensable basis for our definitive victory.

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BLANCAS ON EXECUTIVE INTERFERENCE IN JUDICIAL BRANCH

Lima CARETAS in Spanish 20 Apr 87 pp 26-29

[Interview with Carlos Bustamante Blancas, minister of justice, by Alberto Bonilla]

[Text] Question: The president of the Supreme Court, the dean of the CAL [Lima Bar Association] and the president of the Senate all agree that there has been interference by the executive in the judicial branch. What do you have to say about this state of affairs?

Answer: From our point of view there has been no interference because we have not transgressed any legal statute. In the Bertello case we acted on the basis of an explicit right granted to the minister of justice by Article 7 of the Public Ministry Organic Law to issue admonitions concerning the exercise of its duties. The same article states that the prosecutor may or may not accept the admonition. In that case a mechanism is provided for consultation with the attorney general and between this person and the council of prosecutors. They will then rule on what is appropriate for the public ministry in relation to the admonition. This is in no way a mandate or an order. It is simply a request, which is rather far from constituting a form of interference, since the law expressly provides for it.

Question: But in any event, isn't this institution of the admonition a sort of unconstitutional pressure, since it comes from political officials?

Answer: It seems to me that this issue has been improperly treated by some commentators. Assuming that this article might be unconstitutional, neither the minister of justice nor the executive has the right to rule it unconstitutional. The government administration (and as ministers we are part of this administration) work according to the principle of legality. This means that not only do we have the power, but we also have the obligation to act in accordance with the current laws in force, without ruling on their constitutionality or unconstitutionality. In our country that is solely the responsibility of the Court of Constitutional Protections or of Parliament.

Question: Precisely because they believe that it is not in accordance with the constitution, there is a movement, and not only of the opposition in parliament, which would like to repeal or amend this Article 7 of the Public Ministry Organic Law which allows the use of admonitions.

Answer: Okay, let's not talk just about the Bertello case, but also about the Langberg case, which CARETAS criticized earlier. The first admonition that I issued was for that case, and at that time, in October 1986, nobody talked about interference or introduced bills to amend Article 7...

Question: But the Langberg case was a highly publicized matter of drug trafficking, obviously quite different from the Bertello case...

Answer: Yes, but here we aren't analyzing the case in itself, but rather the legal basis for the admonition, whether or not it is unconstitutional or implies interference. This is the same in the Langberg case as in the Bertello case. Our point of view is that the provision exists and it is up to the executive to make use of it, and not to rule on its constitutionality or lack thereof.

Question: So as a member of the executive you use the provision while it exists, but you are also a legislator. What is your opinion of Article 7?

Answer: In the first place, let me assume that we did not exercise the legal option of issuing admonitions. I am absolutely convinced that at this moment people would be criticizing us for exactly the opposite thing. "How was it possible that, with the legal right to issue an admonition, they didn't do so?" We—all of the government—would have been accused of negligence. We have the right and we feel it is our duty to intervene. As for my opinion as a legislator, I will tell you that any of these issues may be subjected to analysis. If a bill is passed calling for a revision of this legislation, this can be done; but what I do not believe is that it can be analyzed under the influence of a political context or of a specific case. The existence of relations between the executive and the public ministry, in its role as defender of society's legal order, is positive and appropriate, and such relations exist in other countries as well. Perhaps the regulations, the mechanisms, need to be revised.

Question: To adapt them to the constitutional standard...

Answer: Yes, we have to remember that this law dates from the previous administration, which felt that this might be a way in which the executive could become involved without altering the course of a judicial proceeding, without doing violence to the legal foundation.

Question: But didn't you do violence to the legal foundation by blocking a release order, in a case in which your brother was involved?

Answer: In the first place, the release order was not stopped but was appealed. This is corroborated perfectly by two judicial resolutions in the habeas corpus process which Bertello's attorney filed. The lower court judge stated clearly that, as there was a right to appeal, it was not appropriate to order the prisoner's release. This was confirmed in the second court by a resolution which was just issued recently, stating that the court would not rule on the release that was requested under habeas corpus until the appeals court had reached a resolution, because with an appeal, the order of release must also be confirmed in the second court. If in this second court the order is confirmed, then Mr Bertello will be released. Concerning your reference to my brother, Dr Jose Blancas, I want to say to you that during the short time I have been in the public ministry, he has not held any jurisdictional position. He had an administrative post as secretary general, an appointment that lies within the sole competence of the attorney general.

Question: Why did he resign?

Answer: Precisely because some insinuations were made in certain sensation-seeking newspapers, and for reasons of delicacy, to keep his name from being used for political purposes. But not because there was any lack of compatibility, and certainly not because of any lack of ethics that anyone might be able to point to.

Question: At this time there has been some talk of requiring your appearance, but apparently there will not be a sufficient number of signatures. Haven't you thought of doing what Remigio Morales Bermudez did, when he voluntarily went to the deputies when they began to criticize his actions?

Answer: That is one option. I have always been ready to respond to any appeal addressed to me by the chamber through a summons or by any committee through an invitation. I have not taken an evasive position on this (and this interview proves it). I am absolutely convinced that our position has a moral basis and a solid legal foundation which can be sustained in any court and circumstances. But even so we do not want to stir up a politically-motivated debate on this issue. The heart of the matter concerns only the judicial authority and the executive, which does not want to be accused of interference. On this issue as in any other case, the executive firmly intends to obey what the judicial authority establishes. We may disagree or not about the final resolution or the way in which the matter is conducted, but we obviously have to obey the court's mandate.

Question: As minister of justice, you are the legal adviser to the executive. Nonetheless, there are some odd cases, for example, a ministerial resolution that corrects a supreme decree, in the case of the obligatory subscription investment bonds, for example...

Answer: Honestly, I will tell you that I have not followed that issue. Not all matters related to the government's administrative decisions go through

the ministry of justice. There are specific sectorial matters that are handled directly by the ministers, who have their own legal advisers,

Question: And you also did not provide advice on the accusation brought by the ministry of the economy against former minister Manuel Ulloa, advice that might now turn back against this government, which has supported the Surmebanc, the Amazon Bank, and Bandesco, just as the previous administration supported Bancoper?

Answer: I understand the concern that is arising about the Bank of the Nation, the same concern that is related to the payment to be made by order of the Supreme Court. This matter is now in the hands of an investigating committee of deputies, who have already begun their work. This may be the best way to learn the truth of the situation. The investigation should be conducted with the broadest guarantees [of immunity] so that everyone who was involved in these events will tell the truth, providing the corresponding documentation, so that the public may obtain full knowledge of what happened. That is all I can tell you.

Question: What is your opinion of the CAL's statement pointing out a need to define the scope of paragraph 20 of article 211 of the constitution, a provision which the government may be abusing?

Answer: It seems a positive factor to me that the CAL is making statements on these problems of a legal nature. This is a problem which dates from the previous government, and it is not just a problem in Peru. There are emergency decrees everywhere, as in Colombia, where they have been used against drug trafficking. I can tell you that there is a lack of precision in our constitution about the scope of that paragraph, and that both in the previous government and in the current administration there have been continual temptations to make use of it. That could lead to excesses. Sometimes I have been against the use of this provision. The matter does merit reflection. Beyond the use which the present or the preceding administration may have made of this provision, what is of interest is that a consensus be reached on the scope which this power should have, a power granted to the president for emergency situations.

Question: The nominations of four supreme magistrates, including that of Dr Guillermo Cabala Rosand, who was your legal partner, have been sent to the Senate for ratification. What is the procedure followed in such cases? Are you the person who proposes these appointments?

Answer: The first selection of candidates is made by the National Magistrature Council, which is chaired by the attorney general. It is composed of representatives of various institutions, not from the government. From all the candidates, a list of three names is chosen for each position; this list is then sent to the ministry of justice for appointment by the president.

Question: In any case, the minister advises the president...

Answer: The minister advises and countersigns resolutions after the president has made a decision on them. In this case, to speak specifically of Dr Cabala, this is not the first time he has been listed in one of these lists of three candidates. It is the second or third time he has been proposed by the National Magistrature Council. The other times he was not chosen for different reasons...

Question: During your term in office.

Answer: No, before that. This time Dr Cabala headed his candidates' list, and he was selected by the executive. About the fact that I have been associated with Dr Cabala, whom I have known for many years (he is a very competent professional, for whom I have the highest regard), I must say that I gave up all my professional activities when I was appointed minister of labor, and since then I have never participated either directly or indirectly in any professional association.

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END